

HN

31
C52

UC-NRLF



\$B 172 469

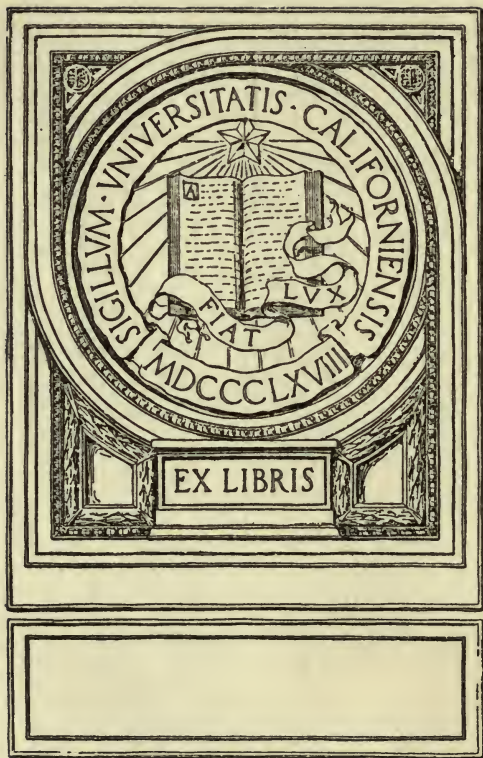
CHRISTIANITY AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

Being
The Report of
The Archbishops'
Fifth Committee of Inquiry



THE KINGDOM OF GOD IS AT HAND
REPENT YE AND BELIEVE THE GOSPEL

1s. net.





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

Christianity and Industrial Problems

BEING THE

Church of England

REPORT OF THE 'ARCHBISHOPS'
FIFTH COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

PART I

Twenty-fifth Thousand

PUBLISHED FOR THE NATIONAL MISSION
BY THE
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
LONDON: 6 ST. MARTIN'S PLACE, W.C.2

1919

HN 31
C 52

COMMITTEE

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER (DR. TALBOT), *Chairman*.

MASTER OF BALLIOL (MR. A. L. SMITH).

MR. H. BARRAN.

REV. G. K. A. BELL.

LORD HENRY BENTINCK, M.P.

MR. S. BOSTOCK.

MR. W. C. BRIDGEMAN, M.P.

MISS IRENE COX.

MR. M. J. R. DUNSTAN.

MR. W. A. DURNFORD.

MR. F. W. GILBERTSON.

COLONEL HESKETH.

MR. W. L. HICHENS.

MR. F. HUGHES.

REV. R. R. HYDE.

MR. H. E. KEMP.

MR. G. LANSBURY.

BISHOP OF LICHFIELD (DR. KEMPTHORNE).

CANON LOVETT.

MR. ALBERT MANSBRIDGE.

BISHOP OF OXFORD (DR. GORE).

BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH (DR. WOODS).

*MR. C. E. B. RUSSELL.

MR. R. H. TAWNEY.

MR. CHRISTOPHER TURNOR.

MISS CONSTANCE SMITH.

DEAN OF YORK (DR. NORRIS).

REV. J. B. SEATON, *Secretary*.

* The Committee were deprived of the valuable assistance of Mr. C. E. B. Russell, owing to his lamented death, at the outset of their work.

FOREWORD

BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

THIS Report belongs to a series : it is one of five. They have the same historic origin, and that origin should be steadily in the thoughts of those who read them.

Two years ago, in this grave crisis of our nation's history, after much thought and prayer, we called the people of England to a National Mission of Repentance and Hope.

First, during 1916, came the preparation of the Church itself. In every Diocese and Parish we sought fresh guidance of the Holy Spirit to reveal to us our own failures, both as individuals and as members of the Church and nation. Then followed, in every corner of the land, the Mission-call to corporate repentance and to hope in Christ as the living answer to our needs. The call told : not, of course, universally, but very widely. We found that people were ready to face familiar facts afresh : that a new spirit was breathing upon dry bones : that we must, and could, be up and doing. As we appraised the outcome of the Mission-call five subjects in the life of Church and nation stood out with obvious claim for our rehandling. The character and manner of our teaching : our worship : our evangelistic work : the discovery of removable hindrances to the Church's efficiency : the bearing of the Gospel message on the industrial problems of to-day.

Five Committees of our best and strongest were accordingly appointed to deal with these, and 1917 was given to the task. Let no one regard as a disappointing thing the pause which that deliberation involved. It may prove, by its results, to have been the most fruitful time of all.

And now in 1918 the five Reports are in our hands. They

are not official documents, but whether we accept the conclusions or not they have the high authority which belongs to the opinions of specially qualified men and women who have devoted long months to their elaboration. The roadway to right knowledge and effective action is now open. It is a roadway which is offered not to those only who approach it as churchmen and churchwomen, but to the English people as a whole. It is the most important stage of the National Mission. With all earnestness I invite, for these Reports, the study and thought of men and women of good-will. We shall not all agree about the various recommendations. We want critics as well as advocates. Let there be quiet reading of all that they contain. Let there be meetings large and small. Let there be sermons and addresses and study circles, that we may perceive and know what things we ought to do, and that together, as the needs of our day demand, we may "go forward." "It is not a vain thing for us : it is our life."

RANDALL CANTUAR:

Lent, 1918.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	ix
I. THE CALL TO THE CHURCH	1
II. CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES AND THEIR SOCIAL APPLICATION	3
(i.) Introductory.	
(ii.) The general character of Christian teaching.	
(iii.) The example of slavery.	
(iv.) The nature of the Church's witness.	
(v.) The social teaching of the Church an essential part of its witness.	
(vi.) Christian Ethics binding upon social relations as well as upon individual conduct.	
(vii.) The teaching of the New Testament with regard to material wealth.	
(viii.) The teaching of the New Testament with regard to the sanctity of personality.	
(ix.) The teaching of the New Testament with regard to the duty of service.	
(x.) The teaching of the New Testament with regard to corporate responsibility.	
(xi.) The social teaching of the Church only one - part of its witness.	
(xii.) The importance of character.	
(xiii.) Conclusion.	
Appended note on certain objections to the application to industry of Christian principles.	
III. SOME HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF CHRISTIAN THOUGHT ON SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS	26
(i.) Introductory.	
(ii.) The teaching of the New Testament.	
(iii.) The Fathers and the Mediæval Church.	
(iv.) The influence of the new Political Economy.	
(v.) Recent developments.	
IV. URBAN LIFE AND INDUSTRY	50
(i.) Introductory.	
(ii.) The need of a new spirit in economic life.	

CHAPTER

PAGE

- (iii.) The danger of acquiescence in familiar evils.
- (iv.) The treatment of human beings as "hands."
- (v.) The over-emphasis of the motive of self-interest.
- (vi.) The co-existence of poverty and riches.
- (vii.) The evil of insecurity and unemployment.
- (viii.) The antagonism between employer and employed.
- (ix.) Co-operation for public service, not competition for private gain, the true principle of industry.
- (x.) The establishment of a living wage and of adequate leisure.
- (xi.) The prevention of, and provision for, unemployment.
- (xii.) The protection of children and young persons.
- (xiii.) Association of workers and of employers.
- (xiv.) The industrial employment of women.
- (xv.) The need of a new attitude towards profits.
- (xvi.) The development of local government.
- (xvii.) Housing.
- (xviii.) The parish priest.
- (xix.) Summary of conclusions.

V. EDUCATION 109

- (i.) Introductory.
- (ii.) The meaning of education.
- (iii.) The significance of education for Christians.
- (iv.) The importance of a liberal education for all.
- (v.) The physical welfare of children and young persons.
- (vi.) The training of the senses and the strengthening of character.
- (vii.) The educational ladder and the educational highway.
- (viii.) The need of a new attitude towards education.
- (ix.) The necessity for more generous public expenditure on education.
- (x.) The necessity of raising the remuneration and status of the teaching profession.
- (xi.) The reduction of the size of classes in elementary schools.

CONTENTS

vii

CHAPTER

PAGE

(xii.)	The lengthening of the period of full-time attendance at school.	
(xiii.)	The establishment of compulsory continued education up to the age of 18.	
(xiv.)	Rural continued education.	
(xv.)	Non-vocational adult education.	
(xvi.)	Religious adult education.	
(xvii.)	Summary of conclusions.	
VI.	CONCLUSION	135
	APPENDIX	138
	A SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY	141

INTRODUCTION

THE matters handled in this Report will be recognised as exceptional in point alike of difficulty and of importance. For it is concerned with the relation of the Church to the general life around it, and, it must be added, to aspects of that life which are commonly regarded as least amenable to spiritual influences.

The Report represents the belief that the time requires a new beginning on the part of the Church in defining its attitude to the economic and social life of the nation. To admit the necessity for a new beginning is to imply that something has been wrong in the past, and to acknowledge a need for repentance. The admission and the acknowledgment are both frankly made in the Report.

The matter for repentance has been in part an undue subservience of the Church to the possessing, employing, and governing classes of the past. It was the temptation of the time, just as the temptation of the coming days will be that of complaisance to the classes that are coming into power; it had the force which social temptations of every kind carry with them: and too often it was not resisted.

But perhaps the Church's deeper fault may have been a want of faith in its own principles, the principles of the Master's teaching. It required no little faith and courage to stand up to what seemed a generation or two ago to be the voice of science and even of philosophy, bidding men trust the working of "natural laws" to yield, though at a great social cost, the best attainable moral results.

But to do this will not now require, as it would have done earlier, a conflict with Political Economy. Political Economy has itself learnt much and altered much. It has abandoned the false abstraction of the economic man moved only by motives of acquisition. It recognises that moral and spiritual factors count, and that economic science only makes its own necessarily partial contribution to the common aim of human welfare.

We shall have support from economics in starting from moral premises as the foundation of all economic arrangements and in demanding that their authority shall prevail. In such matters as those of the living wage, with adequate leisure and security of employment, the status of the worker within the industry in which he works, the provision of full opportunities for all of education, health and housing, moral principles which Christianity creates or recognises claim to dictate 'first charges,' to which the economic process must submit and conform. To get these things conceded, or even adequately claimed, will require all the spiritual strength and courage which the Church can command by disinterestedness and

prayer. But it is the way of faith, and to follow it is, we believe, to return to the best tradition of Christian teaching.

It is a difficulty inherent in a matter of the kind that a Report must neither be too abstract and merely lay down general principles, which may easily mean little or much, nor be too concrete in detailed practical recommendation. The Committee have attempted to do their duty by both sides of the matter, but they have strongly felt it their duty, in a time like this, to err on the side of too much rather than too little practical suggestion. The particular proposals may, doubtless, be amended in many respects, but they will have done their work if they make the discussions on the Report more living and active, and if they show the strong conviction of the Committee that the coming time is not one for speech and thought only on these matters, but for considered and vigorous action.

The Committee are well aware that there is much in the Report which will come to many Churchmen as an unwelcome challenge and demand. They only ask not to be charged with putting it forward in order to be popular. It is, indeed, likely enough that the Report will, for various reasons, not be wholly acceptable to any section of the community in the kind of way which secures popularity. But they are not afraid to say that they have tried to do something to take out of the way of large numbers of God's people stumbling-blocks which have made faith in God and the reception of Christ more difficult for them.

The Committee, it will be observed, included representatives of several different points of view and of varying industrial experience, and the fact that they have signed the Report must not be taken as pledging them individually to every detail in the recommendations. But as its Chairman I may be allowed to testify that there was a common temper in all its members which made possible and largely successful the attempt to reach agreement not by way of compromise, but by the gradual reconciliation and interpretation of differences in the course of argument and discussion.

They regard their work as, at the best, merely opening a great subject. They cannot say too strongly that its practical value will wholly depend upon the way in which it is made the subject of quiet, temperate, and penetrating discussions by Christian people, both among themselves in conference, reading circles and the like, and wherever they have or make opportunities of intercourse and exchange of thought with others.

For the Committee hope that the Report may be of some service both within and without the Church, making some contribution to the common Christian mind which Christians of many different kinds are alike seeking, and also giving

opportunity to those who wish to come into fair and friendly contact with the Church's thoughts and aspirations.

There is a marvellously wide area of agreement that, in spite of all Christian unfaithfulness and mistake, Christ is the centre of the best aspiration and the mainspring of the best forces in the world. There is a still wider consensus that the twin principles of human value and human comradeship are the master-keys of true progress. It may be left to history to say whether the Gospel of God-in-manhood and of Love human and Divine is not the one sustaining source and inspiration of these principles. The coming democracy will have unexampled opportunity, and will bring fresh eagerness, for their application to social life. The Church, on the other hand, believes itself to have the full secret of what it has often failed to apply or has applied (as it must in fairness be claimed) in limited, though honourable, ways. The world's best hopes to-day are bound up with the prospect of better understanding between the two. If this Report should make only the smallest contribution to that understanding the Committee will be satisfied and thankful.

It is important to observe that the Committee confined their attention to industry in its pre-war condition. The figures used are pre-war figures.

The Committee made no attempt to deal with such subjects as intemperance, gambling, etc., which, though they greatly affect the life of the industrial, as of all other, classes, did not seem to the Committee to lie within the area indicated by the terms of their reference, and which were very probably being handled either by one of the other Committees or in other adequate ways.

Circumstances have caused more difficulty and delay in dealing with the part of the subject which concerns rural problems. The Committee have preferred to publish the Report as it stands, with the hope that it may be possible to add a Rural Supplement at a later date.

The Committee were appointed in December, 1916. They held, besides other meetings, one session of several days by the kindness of one of their members, Mr. Christopher Turnor, at his house, Stoke Rochford, Grantham. I had the honour of receiving the Committee in the same way at Farnham, in November; and in January a third meeting on similar lines was held at Balliol College by the kind arrangement and hospitality of the Master.

The Committee are much indebted to their Secretary, the Rev. J. B. Seaton; and, as Assistant Secretary and Registrar, Miss D. W. Jones has rendered them invaluable service with equal courtesy and efficiency.

EDW. WINTON.

TERMS OF REFERENCE

To consider and report upon the ways in which the Church may best commend the teaching of Christ to those who are seeking to solve the problems of industrial life.

CHRISTIANITY AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

CHAPTER I

THE CALL TO THE CHURCH

1. **W**E desire to begin our Report by affirming our summary conclusion and presenting it in its practical aspect. This summary conclusion of all the reflection and discussion and prayer which we have given to the important group of subjects submitted to us is the desire that a call as of a trumpet should go forth to the Church to reconsider the moral and social meaning and bearings of its faith, and, having estimated afresh their importance in the full presentation of the Christian message to the world, to be prepared to make the sacrifices involved in acting frankly and fully upon the principles of brotherhood and of the equal value of every single human life. We cannot conceal either from ourselves or from others that the traditions, prejudices and customs of the "industrial epoch" in the history of our country have in manifold ways violated these principles even flagrantly, and that the sacrifices involved in making a fresh start will be great and difficult. But it is for a fresh openness of mind and a fresh reality of sacrifice that we desire the trumpet-call to go forth to the Church.

We recall with thankfulness the immense debt which the cause of human betterment has owed in past generations both to the Church as a society and to individual Christians. Upon this there is no need to enlarge. But also we are conscious of the lamentable failure in the Church's recent witness. It has laboured hard in the cause of personal character and in the cause of charity. Now, personal character is certainly the indispensable requisite for the wholesome working of any system; but personal character depends largely upon the general principles and assumptions of the society to which the individual belongs, and it is these general principles and assumptions which have been in some important respects strangely defective. Charity, again, in its truest sense means a sort of glorified justice, and looks at least as much to the prevention of evil as to its cure. But our "charity" has meant far too exclusively what may be called ambulance work for mankind—the picking up of the wounded and the curing of their wounds. We have neglected to attack the forces of wrong. We have been content with the ambulance work when we ought to have been assaulting the strongholds of evil. We have allowed avarice and selfishness and grinding competition to

2 CHRISTIANITY AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

- work havoc over the broad spaces of human life. We want a strenuous reaffirmation of the principles of justice, mercy and brotherhood as sovereign over every department of human life.
2. In seeking to make this call ring in the ears of the Church we wish to say at starting that we use the word Church without any controversy and in the largest possible sense to mean "all who profess and call themselves Christians." We know and deplore the divisions of Christendom, and we do not in the least underrate the difficulties involved in healing ancient wounds and restoring violated fellowship. We do not underestimate the theological and constitutional questions involved. But we say deliberately that in the region of moral or social questions we desire all Christians to begin at once to act together as if they were one body, in one visible fellowship. This could be done by all alike without any injury to theological principles. And to bring all Christians together to act in this one department of life as one visible body would involve no loss and manifold gain. We should get to know and trust one another: we should learn to act together: we should thus prepare the way for fuller unity: and, on the other hand, we should win for our action on social questions in town and country a weight and effectiveness which it is idle to expect from the action of a variety of sects and bodies. What we desire to see in towns, counties and villages is the organisation of all who share the Christian profession to act together in the name of Christ for the making of a better England through the courageous application to the present-day situation of the fundamental ethical principles of our religion.

CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES

CHAPTER II

CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES AND THEIR SOCIAL APPLICATION

- (i.) Introductory.
- (ii.) The general character of Christian teaching.
- (iii.) The example of slavery.
- (iv.) The nature of the Church's witness.
- (v.) The social teaching of the Church an essential part of its witness.
- (vi.) Christian Ethics binding upon social relations as well as upon individual conduct.
- (vii.) The teaching of the New Testament with regard to material wealth.
- (viii.) The teaching of the New Testament with regard to the sanctity of personality.
- (ix.) The teaching of the New Testament with regard to the duty of service.
- (x.) The teaching of the New Testament with regard to corporate responsibility.
- (xi.) The social teaching of the Church only one part of its witness.
- (xii.) The importance of character.
- (xiii.) Conclusion.

Appended note on certain objections to the application to industry of Christian principles.

(i.) *Introductory*

3. The first duty of the Christian Church is to witness to its Master, Jesus Christ ; its second, to transmit and expound the Christian principles which form part of the Faith committed to it. The acceptance of those principles is not, of course, confined to members of the Church or even to those who hold the Christian Faith. The story of Jesus Christ, His example, character, life, and words, are open to all in the New Testament. His name is, therefore, widely known and honoured as that of the supreme teacher and leader of mankind, even among many who do not call themselves Christians ; and current morality has for ages been influenced and inspired by principles which are Christian in their origin and character.

While the Church claims no monopoly of the witness to Jesus, it does claim that its witness shall be heard. It has preserved the Gospels and the gospel which they contain. It urges their acceptance and study. It claims to have an understanding of them derived from those who, from the first ages, have, by help of God's Spirit, followed Jesus Christ,

pondered His words and schooled themselves by His teaching. The Church knows that it has much to give and to teach about Jesus Christ which, without its help, may be missed. But it recognises none the less that its interpretation may both neglect and disfigure certain features of the original, and it owns freely that this has been, and often is, the case. Nor does it forget that men outside its pale may, in regard to the application of Christian principles, see points which have not been discerned by Christians. In such matters the Church is ready, therefore, to learn as well as to teach. But it is sure of the truth of Jesus Christ, and of its special responsibility and commission to teach it.

(ii.) *The General Character of Christian Teaching*

4. The principles of Christ are to be sought in three principal ways. They are to be ascertained from His direct teaching, from the teaching which He accepts, fulfils, or makes complete by His own words, and from the gradual leavening of human life both by His own example and teaching and by the society which He founded. In the first place, there are the recorded sayings of our Lord, such as those, for example, with regard to the supreme and equal value of every human life, with regard to brotherhood and the duty of each man to his neighbour, with regard to riches and poverty and the stewardship of wealth. In the second place, there is His acceptance and confirmation of those moral and social teachings of the Old Testament, in the Law and in the Prophets, which made man's life more humane, more just, and more free, and which were partial expressions of principles fully uttered by Jesus. In the third place, there is the influence upon subsequent ages of His person, His example and His teaching, working through the presence of His Spirit in the Church as a whole and the individual members of it.
5. This threefold teaching of our Lord leads men not by rules, which may be superseded, but by a spirit, whose influence is perpetual because of itself it creates the hunger for its more perfect application to the life of man. It offers a standard with which the social institutions of every period may be compared and by which they can be judged. It suggests principles of such a kind that, while themselves paramount, they are capable of being embodied in different political or economic forms to suit the needs of different ages. It stimulates progress, for these principles are capable of constantly larger and more ample application. It leaves large liberty to men in giving them practical embodiment in the circumstances of the period and country in which they live. It thus increases both their responsibility and their power to discharge it. They have often been too slow, and sometimes too impatient, to keep pace with

the method of their Master. They have treasured old bottles when new ones were needed to receive the new wine of life : they have thrown old bottles away even when new ones were not yet available.

(iii.) *The Example of Slavery*

6. As an example both of the general leavening of society by Christian principles, and of the apathy by which that process was retarded, the case of slavery is, we think, instructive. Jesus Christ and slavery are incompatible, for Christ is the great Emancipator. Implicit in the value which He set on every individual life, in the new significance given to each human soul as a redeemed member of His body, and in the great and fundamental principle of mutual unselfishness which He taught, the fundamental opposition of Christianity to slavery was discerned by St. Paul when he said, "There is neither bond nor free . . . for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."* But Jesus Christ did not lead a movement for emancipation ; nor did His disciples, though full of His spirit, and with courage to face any dangers, conceive that to be their duty. The early Christians had, indeed, no control of the political system, but were universally suspected and generally hated. Hence the time for an organised movement had not yet arrived. It is possible, indeed, that it might have been postponed by an attempt to hasten it, and that the witness of the disciples to the truth which came by Jesus Christ might have been lost or obscured in the struggle for one of its applications.

Though, however, the disciples did not insist on the emancipation of slaves, it is none the less true that the effect of Christianity was to modify and undermine slavery. An historical process was begun through which Christian principles gradually worked upon social life and institutions. On the one hand, the relation between the Christian master and his slave was tempered and transformed, as the absolute civil authority of the former was outweighed and controlled by the spiritual equality of both.† On the other hand, acts of emancipation became frequent on the part of Christians, and the influence of the Church was employed to promote them, as deeds of charity or of repentance. When Christianity gained an official status in the Roman Empire in the age of Constantine this process should have gone forward more quickly and on a larger scale. But the Church became largely secularised and was impotent for so great a change. Henceforward, therefore, during the Dark and Middle Ages, the influence of Christian teaching was felt less in any general

* Galatians, iii. 28.

† *Vide* St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon and his injunctions to masters in Ephesians and Colossians.

movement than in the encouragement of individual manumissions, and also, perhaps, in causing the substitution of serfdom for slavery and the gradual liberation of serfs.

7. It is remarkable, indeed, how hesitatingly the essential Christian principle of freedom was applied. The converted Anglo-Saxons attempted with a simplicity and directness beyond any of the new nations to transform the Gospel precepts into declarations of law. Yet for 300 years (down to Ethelred) the Anglo-Saxon laws did not forbid the selling of slaves except when they were sold into a heathen nation, "that those souls perish not that Christ bought with his own life." Two centuries later the Papacy denounced on the same grounds the Venetians' trading in slaves. The great discoveries of the fifteenth century, and the opening of the New World in the sixteenth, led to a new form of slave trade which even professed a religious sanction; Sir John Hawkins, when he made a fortune by selling negroes to the Spanish Colonies, prided himself on bringing the heathen of Africa into Christian lands. Even in our own country men were openly sold to be slaves in the plantations after Monmouth's Rebellion in 1685. It was not until 1782 that the English judges in the case of the negro Somerset decided that any slave setting foot on English soil becomes a free man; a ruling which now in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf takes the very practical form that a slave is freed by getting hold of a rope from a boat belonging to one of our warships, as such a warship is a floating piece of British soil. But it is well to remember that in Cuba and Brazil slavery was legal almost to the present generation; that Livingstone could still describe the African slave trade as the great open sore of the world; and that as late as the American Civil War treatises were being written to defend slavery as a novitiate or apprenticeship for inferior races, as a necessary stage in the development of new countries, as a universal and therefore Divine institution, or as an execution of the Divine decree that Ham should serve his brethren.

The truth is that a frightful set-back had taken place when zeal for the inspiration of the whole Bible led to the fatal mistake of putting the inspiration of the Old Testament on an equality with that of the New. What had been allowed to "them of old time" before Christ was regarded as on a level with the New Law which He had pointedly contrasted with it, and the Christian tradition of personal freedom was submerged by the Levitical and other precedents which were freely quoted as justifying the slavery of the coloured man.* But, though submerged, that tradition was not obliterated. It proved its

* For an illuminating discussion of certain aspects of the teaching of the Old Testament and of Christianity with regard to slavery see Goldwin Smith, *Does the Bible Sanction American Slavery?* 1863. (Parker.)

vitality by reasserting itself in the agitation against the slave-trade; and, combining with doctrines of civil and political liberty, it produced at last, largely through the influence of great Christians such as Clarkson and Wilberforce, the abolition of British slavery, which led the way for the general movement. The fundamental immorality of slavery was at length fully realised.

8. Christians are bound to fight against the remainders or revivals of slavery, or reversions to it, without being called upon to pass condemnations, which would often be Pharisaical, upon the Christians of an earlier age. The process has at last worked itself out. But it is easy to see that it might have done so more quickly if Christians had been more faithful, and if they had been able to make society more truly Christian.

The lesson is one which ought to be remembered. For, apart from Christian influences, recrudescences of slavery, especially where white men deal with backward races, are only too possible. The older form of Kanaka recruiting has been officially described as negro slavery over again. A future age will probably look upon some features of our industrial system with something of the same feelings which are aroused in us when we survey the nineteen centuries which it has taken to make a professedly Christian world apply Christian principles to the case of slavery.

(iv.) *The Nature of the Church's Witness*

9. In view of the general character of Christian teaching and of past experience of its influence, there are, we submit, four main conditions with which the witness of the Church "to those who are seeking to solve the problems of industrial life" must comply.

First, it must be a witness to principles which touch something larger and deeper than social or industrial needs. Life is more than livelihood, and human beings are men before they are workmen or employers.

Second, it must be a witness to principles by which all social conditions are to be judged. Christians cannot allow that there is any department of human activity which falls outside the sphere of Christian teaching. "Conscience in an industrial society," to quote the *Report of the Committee on Industrial Problems of the Lambeth Conference of Bishops of 1897*,* "will look for moral guidance on economic matters. Economic science does not claim to give this. . . . But we believe that Christ our Master does give such guidance . . . and therefore,

* Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion. Holden at Lambeth Palace in July, 1897. Encyclical Letter from the Bishops, with the Resolutions and Reports (S.P.C.K.).

under Him, Christian authority must in a measure do the same."

Third, it must be a witness to principles which are always pressing, by the force that is in them, for fuller embodiment and application. Thus the principle of human value must work towards more complete equality, both of opportunity and consideration: 'each counts for one and not more than one.' The principle of service by each and all as the ideal of human life, expressed in the words "I am among you as He that serveth,"* must result in a greater abolition of privilege and social authority on the part of individuals or classes, and towards government or management of all by all. The principle of love and brotherhood must inspire a fuller organic unity of human society. The principle of the sanctity of personality must achieve a fuller and more abundant life, both spiritual and material, for all human beings.

Fourth, it must be a witness to principles which make any social arrangement, *while it lasts*, work humanely, and as fairly and respectfully to each human being concerned as its limitations allow. They must, for example, be such as to cause employers to be thoughtful in detail about the conditions under which employees work, employees to be considerate of the problems and difficulties of employers, and the general public to reveal by its practical action its consciousness of its responsibility for the circumstances in which the goods supplied it are produced.

(v.) *The Social Teaching of the Church an Essential Part of its Witness*

10. The social principles of Christianity, therefore, must be general in character and capable of progressive application. But they are general because they are universal, not because they are indefinite. They are not the less obligatory because they often demand a corporate, as well as an individual, effort for their fulfilment. They are not a mere deduction from, or corollary to, the Christian Faith. They are an essential part of it, and to insist upon them is an indispensable element in the witness of the Christian Church. From the Faith committed to it the Church derives a distinctive conception of the nature of man, of his relations to God and to his fellow men, and of the principles upon which his life, both individual and social, ought to be based. The ethical teaching of Christianity does not, therefore, merely inculcate moral goodness, for some kind of goodness is inculcated by many other religions. It indicates the sense in which moral goodness is to be interpreted by Christians, and the qualities upon which special emphasis

* St. Luke xxii. 27.

should be laid by them. Founded upon the life and example of a unique Person, the Christian Church claims to offer a spiritual ideal sufficiently definite and comprehensive to supply a criterion of human conduct and institutions. It is a society which stands not only for a body of doctrine but for a way of life.

The scope and application of Christian ethics have been interpreted in more than one way in the past and are interpreted in more than one way to-day. The space at our disposal does not allow us to enter upon a detailed consideration of the large questions involved. But we venture to lay down five main positions which we believe to be at once a vital part of the Christian Faith, and to be too generally disregarded, both in the presentation of Christian teaching and in the economic life of Christian communities.

(vi.) *Christian Ethics binding upon Social Relations as well as upon Individual Conduct*

11. (a) In the first place, then, we think it our duty to point out that Christianity claims to offer mankind a body of moral teaching which not only is binding upon individuals in their personal and domestic conduct but also supplies a criterion by which to judge their economic activity, their industrial organisation, and their social institutions. Though to many of our readers such a statement will appear the truism which it is, it is nevertheless not unimportant to insist upon it, because to tolerate its neglect is to give occasion to the dangerous error which consists in the divorce of religion from the business of practical life. We do not, of course, suggest that this error is universal, for there are many in all classes who carry the spirit of Christianity into the world of industry and commerce. But few would deny that it is too prevalent, that it is supported by powerful currents of interest and opinion, and that it creates an environment unfavourable to the embodiment of Christian ideals in the social order of Christian communities. -

There is a view of human affairs which draws a sharp distinction between the life of the individual and the organised arrangements of society, between the ethical standards to which it is a man's duty to conform in his personal conduct and those applicable to his conduct as a workman, an employer, a merchant, or a citizen, between his activities as a moral being and the economic or political fabric within which they are carried on, and which suggests that, while the former should be inspired by the teaching of Christianity, the latter must be judged by other criteria. Stated in its more moderate form this view implies that, while it is, no doubt, desirable that Christian ethics should be applied to economic conduct and industrial organisation, such an application is not of the essence of Chris-

10 CHRISTIANITY AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

tianity, is not always compatible with the practical exigencies of business life, and is a matter of convenience rather than of positive obligation. Pushed to extremes, it suggests that society, and in particular its industrial fabric and economic activities, are to be judged not by moral principles but by economic results—that they are analogous, in fact, to a mechanism to which spiritual considerations are irrelevant because its primary function is the attainment of economic efficiency and the organisation of productive power. A Christian community is sometimes considered, in short, to be one in which individuals must endeavour to conform in their personal lives to Christian teaching, but in which they may nevertheless take industrial arrangements and social institutions for granted, without inquiring how far they are compatible with the ethics of the New Testament and of the Christian Church.

12. "Christian opinion," stated the Committee of the Lambeth Conference of Bishops of 1897, "ought to condemn the belief that economic conditions are to be left to the action of material causes and mechanical laws." This conception of the nature of society and of the scope of religion is one which Christians cannot accept, and which would probably, indeed, be repudiated by the better mind of all who reflect upon its implications. It would tend, if dominant, to the exclusion of Christian ethics from the whole world of economic activity and of social relations, and would result in the triumph of the economic Machiavellism which says that "business is business," as some nations have said that "war is war." It need not, indeed, be denied that such a view of life produces results which are outwardly brilliant and imposing, in the world both of politics and of industry. By relieving men of the moral restraints which control the strong and protect the weak, it simplifies their problems, and enables them to concentrate on the organisation of power, power to govern or power to produce. It converts society into a potent engine for the accumulation of material wealth, because it encourages a single-minded concentration on the pursuit of economic efficiency. It is the natural creed of the Napoleons and Bismarcks of the world, whether their sphere be war or politics or industry. That industry is a mechanism in which methods of organisation and social relationships are to be determined by considerations of economic expediency—this doctrine has for a century had a wide influence in moulding industrial organisation and social life. Those who yield to its glittering allurements have their reward. It offers them power, affluence, material comfort, "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them."*
13. The appeal of this conception is impressive. But, whatever spectacular achievements it may have to its credit, the spirit

* St. Matthew iv. 8.

which would divorce economic activity from religious considerations is distinctly and peculiarly unchristian. It is unchristian not only in its failures but even more in its successes. It does not accept the ideals of the New Testament and fail to attain them. It has an ideal which is different, and which, superficially perhaps, is more plausible. For Christianity regards society, not as a machine, but as an association of men, the ultimate object of which is to promote the development of the human spirit and its preparation for the Kingdom of God. In that process of development and preparation the provision of the material means of existence plays an indispensable and honourable part, since they are the necessary foundation of a full and vigorous life. But they are its foundation, not its completion, and to give them pre-eminence in its direction is to confuse the purpose of life with its accessories. Industry and economic activity are not, therefore, ends in themselves, to be pursued without reference to the main end of human society, or by methods inconsistent with it. They are part of a larger whole, which is nothing less than the gradual education and perfecting of man, and their character must be judged by its conformity with the end to which they are means. "All things work together for good to them that love God,"* and the satisfaction of man's material needs, which is the function of industry, ought to be ennobled by the spiritual purpose to which it contributes.

It is not implied, of course, that such considerations can always consciously be present to the minds of all who are engaged in industry, any more than that the spiritual ends for which education is carried on can always be consciously in the minds of those who are engaged in the teaching profession. But when the question is raised of the place of industry in the community, of its ethical standards, and of the rights and responsibilities of the different classes and individuals engaged in it, it is the duty of Christians to insist that the ultimate criterion of social institutions, of economic activity and of industrial organisation is to be found in the teaching of Christianity. Divorced from spiritual standards, industry is only too likely to degenerate into a struggle to escape poverty or to obtain riches, in which some of the finer qualities of human nature, kindness, and the love of beauty, and the temper of disinterested service may be crushed by a single overmastering motive. It is for the Church to humanise industry by upholding the spiritual ends to which it ought to be directed, and the spiritual criteria by which it ought to be judged. Industry is, in short, a social function, which ought to be carried on, in the words of Bacon, for "the glory of the Creator and the relief

* Romans viii. 28.

of man's estate." * Its character, organisation and methods ought to be such as to make it unmistakable to observers that it is a main practical activity of a Christian community. We think, therefore, that it is the duty of the Church, while avoiding dogmatism as to the precise methods of applying Christian principles to industry, to insist that Christian ethics are as binding upon economic conduct and industrial organisation as upon personal conduct and domestic life. By so doing it would modify the assumptions which men bring into the transactions of economic life, and would cause them to judge industry and industrial success by moral, not merely by economic, criteria. Such a pre-eminence of moral over material considerations is in accordance, it will be agreed, with the spirit of the New Testament.

(vii.) *The Teaching of the New Testament with regard to Material Wealth*

14. (b) The second point which we desire to emphasise is the teaching of the New Testament with regard both to the right employment of wealth and to the subordinate place which should be occupied in human interest by the pursuit of material riches. That teaching is explicit and unmistakable, and cannot too constantly be present to the minds of Christians. It is suggested, on the one hand, that more than a small measure of material wealth is a hindrance, rather than a help, to the Christian life, and, on the other hand, that those who possess riches are bound to regard them not as a property which they may use for their personal satisfaction, but as a stewardship which they must justify by administering it for the good of the community.

It is not that in the New Testament the rich are denounced, for such denunciation often implies that they are peculiarly enviable. And they are not envied, they are pitied. They are pitied, because it is suggested that the desire for material riches is a terrible temptation, that riches ought to occupy a quite minor place in men's thoughts, that to take them very seriously is to starve the life of the spirit, that the man who directs his life primarily to laying up treasures on earth sins both against himself and against his neighbour. There is little emphasis, indeed, in the New Testament upon the ascetic merits of poverty, such as appears in some later periods in the history of the Church. But there is an austere and reiterated warning against undue preoccupation with what would be called to-day economic considerations. That the transcendent importance of the spiritual life makes any concentration upon material gain, in excess of that required for maintenance, a

* Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*.

positive evil, that the Kingdom of God must come first and all other interests second, that the life most favourable to spiritual growth is one which is not concerned, more than is unavoidable, with the pursuit of riches, that wealth is a responsibility for its owners, not a luxury to be used as they please—such ideas recur again and again both in the Gospels and in the Apostolic Epistles.

15. This strand of thought survived, as we point out in a later part of this Report, throughout a great part of the pre-industrial era, though often neglected in practice and overlaid by other considerations. If it appears alien to some characteristic aspects of modern civilisation, if it causes men to be "astonished out of measure,"* that fact would appear to make it all the more important that it should be emphasised. When Christian ethics and economic practice are at variance, the latter must be adapted to the former, not the former to the latter; and it is too often forgotten that avarice, in the sense of the immoderate desire for gain, is a sin which Christian tradition regards as not less grave than some others which to-day are more generally condemned.† It can hardly be doubted, indeed, that the common assumption that the attainment of riches is one of the main ends of man, and that the criterion of social organisation is its power to facilitate the pursuit of them, is not so much unchristian as anti-Christian; for it leads, when accepted, to the subordination of the religion of the spirit to a religion of gain. He that would save his life must lose it, and if the Church is to be true to the spirit of the New Testament it must, we submit, spare no effort to teach mankind that the true wealth of a society is to be measured by the quality of the human beings who compose it, and that undue concentration upon the prizes of this world is a grave danger to the soul.

16. It must teach this, not in the interests of any particular class, nor, primarily, with the object of achieving practical reforms, but for the sake of the Truth committed to it, because the life is more than meat, and the body than raiment. It will not be denied, however, that at all times, and pre-eminently in commercial communities, where the rewards of successful enterprise are dazzling, there is urgent need of such teaching. The pursuit of wealth as an end in itself creates an atmosphere in which right social relations are hardly attainable, and in which it is difficult not only for the rich, but for all classes, to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. For, whether it results in the selfishness which prefers the life of individual self-advancement to the life of fellowship, or the parsimony which grudges expenditure on all but utilitarian purposes, or the extravagance

* St. Mark x. 26.

† Colossians iii. 5. 1 Corinthians v. 10.

which diverts human energy from fruitful labour to the multiplication of luxuries, it fosters the spirit which justifies, too often, indeed, which glorifies, the subordination of human beings to considerations of material success. If society is to be the master, not the servant, of the forces which it has liberated, if it is to escape the danger of succumbing to the very success with which it has applied science and organisation to the conquest of nature, it must possess some standard of values superior to economic expediency, and be guided by some ideal more absolute than the shifting currents of supply and demand. Such an ideal, such a standard the Christian Faith offers in a sentence: "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"*

(viii.) *The Teaching of the New Testament with regard to the Sanctity of Personality*

17. (c) The New Testament emphasises, as we have already pointed out, that every soul is of infinite and equal value, because all men are children of one Father. It reiterates in different ways the sanctity of human personality. It suggests that even the most venerable institutions are secondary to personality, and that they must give way when they conflict with it, because institutions are a means and personality is an end. This paradoxical valuation upon individuality is expressed by the word "love" in such sayings as "God is Love." It brought, it may be suggested, a novel element into the thought of the world, or one at least which it would be difficult to find expressed in classical writings with the same intensity and vehemence as in some passages of the Sermon on the Mount. And it is an idea which was not easily accepted then and which is not easily accepted now. For it is in perpetual contradiction with those elements in human nature which desire to eliminate or subordinate individuality in the interests of the smooth routine of an orderly and efficient system, whether political or economic. It is the inner faith of which liberty is the outward expression, because it places the development of the human spirit above all material convenience. It emphasises freedom rather than power, quality rather than quantity, spontaneity rather than system. The apostolic precept to "honour all men" has perhaps received disproportionately little attention either in the presentation of Christian doctrine or in the practical organisation of social life.

If it is true—and who can doubt it?—that the sanctity of personality is a fundamental idea of Christian teaching, it is evident that Christians are bound to judge their industrial organisation by that principle and to ask whether in modern

*¹St. Mark viii. 36.

industry human beings are regarded always as ends and never as means. We do not venture to give a dogmatic answer to that question. But we submit that the criticism which the thoughtful workman passes upon the economic system is that it often treats him and his class as instruments of production, and that this criticism is a very weighty one, because it cuts to the root both of modern industrial relationships and of modern social ethics.

18. It would not be fair to blame individuals for evils which many of them deplore, and which as individuals they are often powerless to alter. We recognise that the relations between employer and employed are frequently marked by a spirit of humanity, of forbearance, and of mutual consideration and respect. Nor do we forget that the community as a whole, whose demand it is that ultimately sets the wheels of industry in motion, bears at least as large a responsibility for its methods and organisation as do many of those who appear to be more directly in contact with it. But the criticism to which we have referred raises a larger question than that of individual shortcomings or of the conflicting claims of the different parties engaged in industry. It refers to the general character and tendency of the industrial system. It suggests that, except in those industries in which, by prolonged and repeated struggles, the workers have forced on society the fact that they are men, not machines, they are still too often liable to be treated, of course, as we have said, with many exceptions, as cogs in the industrial mechanism.

While there are, no doubt, aspects of modern industry which such an indictment omits or misrepresents, there are others to which it must be reluctantly admitted to be applicable, and we think it has too much substance to be lightly dismissed by the conscience of Christians. Workmen are often engaged when there is work and dismissed when there is not. They are employed casually, if casual employment is economically convenient. Unless protected by law or by trade unionism, they are liable to be worked inhuman hours, to be paid the lowest wage which they can be forced by fear of unemployment to accept, and to be bound by regulations which they have no voice in making. That such conditions must produce poverty is obvious, for they leave the weaker members of the community without protection against the downward thrust of economic pressure. But that is not the gravest stricture to be passed upon them. The fundamental objection to them is that they tend to result in men and women being treated as instruments of production, and that to treat human beings as instruments of production is morally wrong. Any system under which they are so employed, however efficient or imposing, is in itself anti-Christian.

19. It may be said, indeed, that some of the evils to which we have referred above, and which we shall discuss more fully in Chapter IV. of this Report, have in the past been accepted by a considerable body of economic thought as almost inevitable incidents of economic progress. But economic science, like other sciences, is concerned primarily with what is, not with what ought to be, and the Church must not allow itself to be intimidated by the alleged doctrines of political economy, wrongly understood as those doctrines often have been, into subordinating Christian ethics to economic considerations. It ought to reiterate that the welfare of human beings, including not merely material comfort, but scope for initiative and opportunities for self-development through education and through labour, and freedom to take part in the control of industrial organisation and direction of economic conditions and policy, must be the first condition of any industry carried on by Christians. It ought to insist that *no* economic convenience justifies *any* oppression. It should not wait to speak till evils are monstrous and full grown, for when they are full grown they are often almost incurable. It should make war on the spirit which produces them. That it cannot pretend to solve the detailed problems of economic organisation is, indeed, as obvious as that it could not in past ages have been expected to invent a police system to check robbery on the highways. But it can insist that it is the duty of Christians to solve them, just as it insists that it is the duty of Christians to prevent theft. It can assert the supreme authority of Christian principles as the final criterion of the social order. It should not simply denounce. But it should, on the one hand, appeal to principle, and, on the other, so far as is possible, point towards the remedy. As long as there are good men who believe that with such questions Christianity has no direct concern, the full message of the Church is misapprehended, and its witness to social righteousness is incomplete.

(ix.) *The Teaching of the New Testament with regard to the Duty of Service*

20. (d) The emphasis which the New Testament lays upon individuality is counterbalanced by the emphasis which it lays upon the fact that Christians are members of a society. By itself the former might lead to an extreme individualism. But the New Testament corrects that tendency by reiterating that as members of a society, the Kingdom or the Church, Christians are bound to each other by mutual obligations. It insists upon the duty of service, upon the importance of what may be called the non-competitive temper, on meekness and humility, on mutual kindness and forbearance. The spirit of personal

self-assertion, of rivalry, of pride is discountenanced. It is suggested that Christians form a corporate body, the members of which ought to be knit together in a close union, and to subordinate themselves to the good of the whole. In using modern phraseology it is difficult, no doubt, to avoid expressions which are liable to be coloured by misleading modern associations. But we think that the ethical spirit of the New Testament may reasonably be described as co-operative rather than competitive. The idea that men are justified in driving hard bargains with each other, in grasping all that the law allows, or in taking advantage of their neighbours' necessity, is, undoubtedly, alien to it. St. Paul in a well-known passage* exhorts the Christian to "labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth." It is the message of the New Testament that work is a duty which is incumbent upon all, that the members of a Christian community should aim at giving rather than getting, and that they should seek the service of others rather than the personal profit of themselves.

21. These ideas form part of the social ethics of Christianity. It is important, therefore, that the Church should emphasise the duty of applying them to industry more persistently and more explicitly than it does at present. It must recognise not merely that men's practice falls below their theory in these, as in all other, matters, but that, as sometimes presented, the theory of modern industry itself requires profound modifications, if it is to be compatible with the teaching of the New Testament. In particular, the doctrine sometimes advanced, that a man is free to do what he likes with his own, that all men are justified in following their own pecuniary interests to the fullest extent allowed by law, and that social well-being will incidentally, but certainly, result from their efforts to further their own self-interest, is definitely anti-Christian.

It need not be denied, indeed, that this spirit has given a strong impetus to productive efficiency. It would appear, however, to be alien to the teaching of Christianity. If this is so, the Church, whose function it is not to show society how to be rich but to show it how to be Christian, ought not to be dazzled by imposing material achievements into distrusting its own creed. It is possible that society may have to choose between being Christian and being rich, as in other ages men have had to choose between Christianity and prosperity, comfort, or life itself. We believe, indeed, that the Christian is not less efficient, but more efficient, in the affairs of practical life because of his Faith, and that mankind will find that, if they seek first the Kingdom of God, other things will be added to them. Among other considerations tending to support

* Ephesians iv. 28.

such a conclusion it is important to remember that, if it be true that any restriction upon the opportunities of acquiring vast fortunes would remove or weaken an undeniable stimulus to industrial development, it is also true that the broadening of the opportunity to acquire a reasonable competence so as to include the whole mass of the workers and their admission to a share in the management of industry would supply a stimulus to industrial activity over so wide an area as would be likely to compensate for anything which would be lost through the restriction upon the power of the few to acquire unlimited wealth. It is not for that reason, however, that the Church must teach the social ethics of the New Testament. It must teach them because they are right. Its duty is to let material riches take care of themselves, and to preach the Gospel committed to it without regard to consequences. It must obey the call of its Master: "Let the dead bury their dead, but go thou and preach the Kingdom of God."*

22. Such considerations should result, we believe, in increased emphasis being laid by the Church upon the social message of Christianity. It is important for it to insist, for example, that the duty of personal work is incumbent on all, that idleness, and institutions which encourage idleness, whether among rich or poor, are wrong, that the primary function of industry is social service, not merely personal gain, that a man is bound to judge his economic activities not by the profits which they bring to himself, but by the contribution which they make to the well-being of others; that it is wrong to take advantage of the necessities of the public or of private individuals to drive a hard and profitable bargain; that it is wrong to adulterate goods or to charge exorbitant prices for them; that an industry which can only be carried on by methods which degrade human beings ought not to be carried on at all; that property is not held by absolute right on an individual basis, but is relative to the good of society as a commonweal; that if an institution is socially harmful no vested interest is a valid plea for maintaining it.
23. Accepting the view that such implications are involved in Christian ethics, the Church would regularly and publicly call attention to the temptations of economic life, as it does to temptations of another kind. It would point out to its members that if they are living idly, whether on charity or on inherited wealth, when they are able to work, they are committing a sin, that luxury and waste in any class of society are not only correspondent to, but largely responsible for, the want and destitution which are a blot on that society, and that this connection of cause and effect needs to be clearly indicated to those concerned. When it saw men making large

* St. Luke ix. 60.

fortunes out of public necessities it would remonstrate with them. When it saw one class taking advantage of another and more helpless class it would point out that this was wrong. Nor would the Church confine itself to warnings of a negative character. It would emphasise the duty of strenuous and honest work, the obligation of all men to observe a high standard of honour, of public spirit, and of humanity in their economic transactions, and their moral responsibility for the organisation of industry and for the standard of social life obtaining in the society of which they are members. Above all, it would seek to impress upon them the conviction that industry is a social function carried on for the benefit of the whole community, and would teach them to seek satisfaction, not in evading their share of the common task, but in discharging it more faithfully.

But it is not necessary to do more than give examples of the principle that the economic life of Christians ought to be inspired by the motive of service. If the Church emphasises that principle, if it examines existing institutions and practice in the light of it, it will have no difficulty in stating further applications of it. More important, it will encourage individuals to find such applications for themselves. It will awaken their reason and stimulate their conscience, and thus find a welcome for its message in the quickened spiritual life of countless men and women, "by manifestation of the truth commending" ourselves "to every man's conscience in the sight of God."*

(x.) *The Teaching of the New Testament with regard to Corporate Responsibility*

24. (e) The New Testament does not only emphasise the duty of the members of the Christian society to the society. It also emphasises the duty of the society to its members. This seems to be involved in the very idea of the Church as a true community, a single body. "The social order . . . must be tested by the degree in which it secures for each freedom for happy, useful, and untrammelled life, and distributes, as widely and equitably as may be, social advantages and opportunities."† It follows, therefore, that Christians have a corporate responsibility for seeing that all members of society have the opportunity of a good life. How that opportunity is to be secured to them is, of course, a matter about which opinions will differ. But there can be no difference of opinion as to the duty of seeing that it is secured. It is evident

* 2 Corinthians iv. 2.

† Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion. Holden at Lambeth Palace in July, 1897. Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with the Resolutions and Reports (S.P.C.K.).

that it is not, even approximately, provided at present. Thousands of children and young persons suffer, as we show in Chapter V, from preventable ailments which undermine their physique and impair their education, and are stunted, both in body and mind, by work in industry which is both excessive and premature.* Many hundred thousand workers are paid wages which make a life of honourable independence very difficult, and labour for hours which leave but the scantiest leisure for rest or reflection or recreation. Nearly one-tenth of the whole population are housed under conditions which do not, indeed, prevent the growth of noble character—for nothing, apparently, can do that—but which make the words “Lead us not into temptation” a perpetual mockery. In some districts of our great industrial towns large populations are employed with an irregularity which is prejudicial at once to their *morale* and to their economic welfare. And, while large classes of our countrymen are exposed to the temptations of excessive poverty, another and a smaller class is surrounded with the temptations of excessive riches.

25. To some of the practical problems raised by such social conditions we return in the subsequent chapters of this Report. But we would point out here that the task of calling the attention of men to the duty of bearing each other's burdens is involved in the very nature of the Church as a corporate society, and that it is its function to awaken their consciences to the importance of removing both the one temptation and the other. It is important, also, for it to insist on the duties of all members of a corporate body; that what is wrong for each to do individually cannot be right for the collective body; that business companies, trade unions, colleges, chapters, and similar associations receive legal privileges from the community and are bound by corresponding obligations to the community; that, in fact, the new conceptions of corporate responsibility which are growing up should be emphasised as a part of our duty to our neighbour.

The Church, in short, is a society which must insist upon the obligation of its members to maintain the distinctive standard of social ethics revealed to men in the New Testament. It should not merely preach brotherhood; it should be a brotherhood. The test which the individual can use to determine

* See Chapter V of this Report and Reports of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education for 1915 (Cd. 8338) and 1916 (Cd. 8746). The latter Report states: “A year ago a moderate computation yielded not less than a million children of school age . . . as being so physically or mentally defective or diseased as to be unable to derive reasonable benefit from the education which the State provides. . . . There are no grounds for believing that the figures here quoted are otherwise than a moderate estimate or under-estimate of the existing condition of things to-day.”

whether the social conditions of his neighbours are such as can be approved by the Christian conscience is, after all, a simple one. It is whether they are such as he would desire for himself, for his own children, and for his own friends. The task of the Church is to stimulate men to apply that test with warmer sympathy and deeper insight, by reminding them that they are failing as Christians unless they use to the full such means as they may possess of securing the material conditions of a good life for mankind. "A Christian community, as a whole," stated the Report of the Lambeth Conference quoted above, "is morally responsible for the character of its own economic and social order."

(xi.) *The Social Teaching of the Church only one Part of its Witness*

26. It is implied in the preceding pages of this chapter that the Church will, in our belief, be discharging an urgent part of its witness by inviting those concerned in solving the problems of industry to consider how Christian principles bear upon those problems, how they suggest ever better solutions of them, and how they prompt the spirit and energy by which efforts to solve them will be hopefully made. Moreover, we think that, by emphasising this aspect of its teaching, the Church will offer an invaluable credential for the *whole* witness which it is responsible for giving. For the witness of the Church upon social questions can never be its whole witness to any class or generation of men. Life is deeper, larger, more sacred, more eternal, than any social arrangements, and to forget that the witness of the Church upon social relationships is but a part, though a vitally important part, of its larger spiritual witness, would be to make a mistake not less disastrous than that of those who would ignore its social witness altogether.

(xii.) *The Importance of Character*

27. Further, the Church must commend its witness by laying due stress upon the importance of character. The Gospel was, indeed, introduced to men by character—the supreme character of Jesus Christ. It made its way by the character of those who followed Him, and of the society into which they were joined. The Church has been weak where it has lost its character, and where its members have had little or nothing to show for their faith. But it always carries the secret of character, and the power by which character is formed, strengthened and protected. For it witnesses, on the one hand, to God's presence and judgment, to the sacredness of man, in body and in spirit, in conscience and in conduct, to the rightness and nobility of unselfish life and citizenship; and, on the other hand, to the Spirit of God as the power who enables man to

be what by himself he cannot be—to be, indeed, his true self. Social history is partly the record of how character in noble men and women has led and achieved reforms, and partly also of how promising schemes of liberty and comradeship have been wrecked by weakness and treachery, or through lack of the character necessary to give them effect. Social reformers cannot afford to neglect the teaching of the Church which, after all confessions and allowances have been made, must be pronounced to be the greatest school of character that the world has known.

(xiii.) *Conclusion*

28. Once more, therefore, the Church may commend its witness by asking the comrades with whom it joins in asserting the fundamental principles of social welfare and progress to recognise the real springs and securities of those principles. The sacredness of each human life, the rightfulness of claims for liberty of development and for equality of opportunity and consideration, the duty of mutual help and corporate service—these are the indispensable and sovereign things. They depend, to a degree which is easily overlooked, upon the fundamental human faiths which Jesus Christ finally made the property of the race, that God is, that God and man are akin, that His Love gives value to every least human life, that He has taken action for man's redemption in Jesus Christ and established His Church to be the home of human brotherhood, that the power which really works to carry human development onward to its goal is the power of God Himself working through Christ in the consciences and efforts and characters of men.

APPENDED NOTE

On Certain Objections to the Application to Industry of Christian Principles

29. Any attempt to state the application of Christian teaching to industrial and social life is met at the outset by three objections:

(1) It is said that there is no social teaching in the Gospels. The appeal of Christ was to the individual, and to the individual only.

(2) It is said that if there is any social teaching in the New Testament it is not applicable to the modern world. Circumstances have changed, and the Gospel of peasants is not likely to be helpful in Birmingham and Manchester.

(3) It is said that if there is any social teaching in the New Testament it had better be made the basis only of a moral appeal to the individual, and not applied to the organised social life of a modern nation. To seek so to apply it, by legislation or otherwise, is inevitably to degrade it. The Church must not tune its pulpits.

These three objections are often used to stop further inquiry. To discuss them adequately would require much learning and space. But, though these objections contain some truth, yet they are not in themselves so conclusive as to relieve men of the obligation of considering whether there is such a thing as Christian social ethics, or of the obligation of considering how to apply them in legislation. Our common principles must be the basis and background of legislative activity.

80. On (1) it may be said: (a) Granted that the appeal of Christ was to the individual, yet individual and social conduct are not sharply distinct. Nor would the teaching of Christ appear to sanction the division between personal and social behaviour, between the relation of a man to his immediate circle and his relation to the outer world of business, which is often made to-day. It does not, indeed, enter into detail, because it assumes the whole existing body of social teaching, the Law and the Prophets, and takes it for granted while seeking to put a new spirit into it. But Christ emphasises that all men are neighbours, that a man cannot love God if he does not love his brother, and that to follow Him it may be necessary to revolutionise established habits and expectations. (b) The interpretation of Christian teaching by the Apostles and by later authorities does not, it may be suggested, support the view that Christianity has no concern with social ethics. What degree of concern it has, what the application of its teaching would be in various circumstances, are, no doubt, very difficult questions. But it would be a somewhat revolutionary view to say that the traditional interpretation excludes from Christian teaching all

social reference. Even superficial knowledge would indicate that from the first century to the seventeenth the social reference in Christian teaching frequently recurs. Leaving the last two centuries on one side, and admitting the present impossibility of a connected history of Christian teaching on social and economic subjects, one may suggest that the volume of the references to such subjects is too great to sanction the view that the interpretation of Christian teaching restricts it entirely to individual conduct, as distinct (if the distinction is possible) from social relations. Tradition is on the side of giving it a wider reference than that, however indeterminate, fluctuating and lacking in precision that reference may be.

As to (2). This objection is powerful. It is not probable—at first sight—so the objection runs, that modern industrial communities have much to learn from Galilee. No, it is not probable. Cultivated Greeks and Romans thought much the same. But if, like many good people, one thinks it is so improbable as to be incredible, one ceases, we suppose, to be a Christian. Perhaps, therefore, it is not necessary to discuss this view here. The hypothesis of this Committee involves the acceptance of what, speaking humanly, is improbable.

As to (3). This objection is of practical importance. Honest and independent men see (or think they see) that the Church may be tempted to preach a Gospel agreeable to the multitude. They resent this, and their resentment is justified. It is as wrong to flatter Cæsar when Cæsar is a democracy as when he is a king or an aristocracy (though hitherto the Church has flattered the two last more often than the first). No self-respecting teacher will stop to consider whether what he says will be popular.

31. But those who urge that Christianity has a social Gospel which the Church should preach are not actuated by any desire that it should say what is agreeable. They desire it to say what is right. They desire it to say what is right in all circumstances and relations of life, not omitting those to which ideas of right and wrong are regarded by custom as having little application. If the result is that one group of men approves and another disapproves, that is not any imputation on the independence of the Church. It is in the nature of things. Christ was accused of courting the mob, because His teaching was accepted by the people more readily than by the powers of this world. His followers must run the same risk. They must rebuke what is wrong and uphold what is right, and let men approve or disapprove as they please. Their safeguard is that their message is too broad and deep permanently to divide or unite men on lines of class. The proper attitude for the Church is, not to consider what kind of teaching is popular or unpopular, but to teach what is right,

irrespective of consequences. Nor does it escape the charge of "tuning its pulpits" merely by silence. Just as there are circumstances in which inaction is a kind—perhaps a wrong kind—of action, so there are circumstances in which silence is a kind—perhaps a wrong kind—of teaching. It is no more "unbiased" to support a *status quo* than it is to work for a revolution. To ignore what is wicked in industrial life is not to be impartial. It is to condone wickedness.

32. We submit, therefore, that the *prima facie* objections to the suggestion that it is desirable to ascertain whether Christianity has any special message with regard to social ethics are not conclusive. They have some weight. They suggest warnings against hasty dogmatism. But they do not relieve Christians of the duty to consider carefully whether Christianity contains principles of social conduct applicable even in the complex circumstances of modern industrial communities.

But this is, indeed, an understatement. While those who are not Christians may often be in doubt, not merely as to the detailed application of moral principles, but as to the very nature of the principles to apply, or even as to the existence of moral principles of any kind, Christians are more fortunate. They are Christians because, we suppose, they accept a certain kind of life, indicated though not fully described by the New Testament, as the only life of absolute importance to men, the only life in which they can find peace and happiness. That life serves as a kind of canon or standard by which they judge themselves and human society. They may often be uncertain as to what it involves. But the very existence of Christianity depends, it would seem, upon the certainty being greater than the uncertainty. There is no sense in belonging to a society if one does not even know the kind of conduct and life which it desires to encourage. Christians may fairly, we think, be said to know the kind of conduct and life involved in membership of the Christian Church, however uncertain they may be as to the particular duties incumbent upon them on particular occasions, and however difficult they may find it to carry out the duties which they do know. Christians, therefore, *qua* Christians, possess a standard by which to judge themselves and their conduct in society.

[This Chapter was entrusted by the Committee to the Master of Balliol, who has associated with himself other members of the Committee in the work. For some of the material thanks are due to Mr. G. G. Coulton, Mr. A. G. Little and the Rev. A. J. Carlyle. For the use made of it they are not responsible.]

CHAPTER III

SOME HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF CHRISTIAN THOUGHT ON SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

- (i.) Introductory.
- (ii.) The teaching of the New Testament.
- (iii.) The Fathers and the Mediæval Church.
- (iv.) The influence of the new Political Economy.
- (v.) Recent developments.

(i.) *Introductory*

33. **I**T is impossible for us in the present chapter to attempt to give anything like a connected account of the development of Christian teaching upon the subject of social relationships and the ethics of industry. Such an account would be of the utmost value, both as a chapter in the history of thought and as helping to dissolve the prejudices which are an obstacle to the wise conduct of practical affairs. But the materials for it have, as yet, been hardly digested. Nor, even were our knowledge fuller than it is, would the space at our disposal admit of our attempting a detailed survey of a very intricate and perplexing subject.

34. Our purpose in the following pages is a humbler one. It is not to write a history, but to recall to the minds of our readers that there is a historical background which should be borne in mind in any attempt to formulate the application of Christian principles to the practical problems of our own nation and of the present age. Such a reminder is most needed, perhaps, by those to whom it seems least necessary. It is the natural disposition of each generation to identify Christianity with those aspects of it which, for one reason or another, happen at the moment to receive most emphasis, to exclude or minimise as unessential or impracticable those elements in Christian thought which it finds uncongenial to its temper or inconvenient to its habits or disturbing to its peace of mind, to place, as it were, its own gloss upon Christian teaching and to regard that gloss as the only natural, sometimes, indeed, as the only conceivable, interpretation. Of the errors arising from that

process of selection and omission, of over-emphasis at one point and under-emphasis at another, knowledge of the past is the natural corrective. For even a superficial study of the past is enough to show that the interpretations placed upon the moral teaching of the New Testament have been various and sometimes inconsistent, that the ideal of the Christian life and the Christian society has been regarded as involving different kinds of practical conduct and social organisation in different ages, that moral principles which at one time were thought to stand at the very centre of Christian teaching have at another been thrust to the circumference or abandoned altogether, that, if Christian ethics have permeated the world of practical activity, they have often been diluted to suit its exigencies or have succumbed to its standards, that the more facile the acceptance of principles which are called Christian the greater the danger that they may have become acceptable because they have ceased to be disturbing, and that it is precisely those aspects of social life which are most readily taken for granted—slavery in antiquity, serfdom in the middle ages, or industrialism at the present day—of which the examination in the light of Christian teaching is at once most indispensable and most difficult. Thus even the briefest commentary upon the interpretations put by past ages upon the application of Christianity to social life has something more than a merely antiquarian interest. It should help to deliver the mind from undue acquiescence in the assumptions of the present, by offering a standard with which the present may be compared, and thus turn the flank of prejudices which are impregnable by a frontal attack

(ii.) *The Teaching of the New Testament.*

35. The foundation of Christian ethics is the account given in the New Testament of the teaching and Person of Christ, the teaching of the New Testament writers, and the practice of the Early Church. It has been aptly said that "Christ views social phenomena from above, in the light of His religious vocation. He approaches them from within through the development of personality. He judges them in their end, as contributing to the Kingdom of God." Four great principles stand out clearly from His teaching. God is our Father and all men are our brethren. The Kingdom of God is at hand. Life is the measure of true value. All disciples are stewards. While in some passages a sudden apocalyptic coming of our Lord is suggested, His teaching involves, at least as often, a regeneration of human society here and now through the working of the law of righteousness and love, and in the background of it stands the message of social righteousness delivered by the prophets of the Old

Testament. God's Kingdom implies God's reign over the whole of human conduct, and carries with it a fellowship among His subjects. There is to be a Christian Society, a People of God, a Church, which shall be the light, the salt, the leaven of human life. But this Society is rather the means of realising the Kingdom than the Kingdom itself. Life, at its highest, is the knowledge of God, but all human life comes within our Lord's purpose. Life itself is carefully distinguished from the material means of living; the service of Mammon is typical of the spirit of the "Kingdom of this age." Wealth is dangerous; and detachment from pre-occupation with wealth is the first mark of the subjects of God's Kingdom. Men are responsible for their fellows, and for the use of the gifts which they themselves possess. "He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much." In every station and position in life there must be fidelity. The Incarnation is a revelation of human duties. As the Son of God took man's whole nature upon Him, nothing can be alien to Him. Man in the fulness of his nature is capable of fellowship with God, and the dominion of the spiritual must be extended over the whole of man's life in the world. The solidarity of the human race is implied in the universal manhood of our Lord. All the distinctions, which cause division—nationality, class, sex—are merged in the Incarnate Son of God. "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Thus the Incarnation is the inexhaustible spring of brotherhood, and the Cross points to self-sacrifice as belonging to the very nature and character of God himself. Not self-development, but unselfish service, is the law of human life. The union of God and man, once accomplished, is continually effective. Men strive in dependence on a living God. "God has taken Humanity to Himself, and man redeemed in Christ is called to work out his destiny in reliance on the Holy Spirit."

36. These central ideas found expression in the teaching of the New Testament writers and in the practice of the Early Church. Personal relationship with God is emphasised as essential. Christ "saves" men and "reconciles" them to God. The sin from which they are saved is self-assertion in relation to God, selfishness in relation to man. The Commandments are summed up in the Commandment of Love, which is "the first of the fruits of the Spirit Who dwelleth in us." Thus a right relationship with God carries with it a right relationship with our fellow-men. "Fellowship with the Father" implies fellowship with one another. The sacrament of Baptism, for example, which is the sacrament of men's membership with Christ, brings with it their incorporation with the Christian Society. The sacrament of Holy Communion is the sacrament not only of their renewed and perpetual fellowship with God in

Christ, but also of their fellowship one with another. "Brotherly love" exists primarily in the Christian Society, and, when the great question of Jew and Gentile has been settled, the aim of that society is to bring all men on equal terms within its borders. But there is a clear sense of duty towards "those who are without": *φιλαδελφία* leads to *ἀγάπη*, which knows no limitations. Brotherly love implies unselfishness with regard to this world's goods. The Communism of the Early Church at Jerusalem, though temporary in regard to method, was permanent in its spirit. Care for the poor is emphasised as vital. Our Lord's warning with respect to the danger of wealth is echoed by St. Paul, and even more clearly by St. James. The duty of honest labour is proclaimed, and luxury is plainly regarded as impossible for a Christian. Hence, though there is in the New Testament no hint of revolutionary changes in the existing political and social order, though St. Peter and St. Paul enjoin loyal obedience to the "powers that be," unless obedience to God is clearly inconsistent with obedience to man, and though the institution of slavery is not explicitly condemned, very powerful solvents of the established social system were nevertheless set to work. The declaration that all men are of equal value before God, the breaking down in Christ of the barriers of nationality, class and sex, had implicit in them far-reaching political and social changes, and were destined in time to bring such changes about.

(iii.) *The Fathers and the Mediæval Church*

87. To what extent have the social implications of the teaching of the New Testament been developed by the Christian thought of succeeding ages? That question is not easily answered. Different conditions involve different applications of identical principles. Nor does the New Testament appear to contemplate the distinction between individual and social ethics which such a question seems to imply. If, however, that distinction be accepted, it seems true to say that in most periods the Christian faith has been interpreted, though with varying shades of emphasis, as possessing a social as well as a personal application and as offering a standard by which to try the life of communities in addition to that of individuals.
38. In the age of the Fathers a distinction ought, perhaps, to be drawn between the ante-Nicene and the post-Nicene Church. In the earlier period Christianity was not a dominant, but often a persecuted, religion. It was, therefore, unnecessary for it to work out any systematic body of social ethics, and there was less temptation for it to accommodate itself to those of the world. The patristic writings, however, both before and after the Council of Nicæa, contain recurrent references which show that the Christian life was regarded as involving a distinctive

attitude towards questions of property, of wealth and poverty, and of economic conduct, which was in antithesis to some of the prevailing practices of Roman civilisation, though probably influenced in part by the thought of pagan writers. "The Gospel," in the words of Harnack, "thus became a social message. The preaching which laid hold of the outer man, detaching him from the world and uniting him to his God, was also a preaching of solidarity and brotherliness. The Gospel, it has been truly said, is at bottom both individualistic and socialistic. Its tendency towards mutual association, so far from being an accidental phenomenon in its history, is inherent in its character. It spiritualises the irresistible impulse which draws one man to another, and it raises the connection of human beings from the sphere of a convention to that of a moral obligation. In this way it serves to heighten the worth of man and essays to recast contemporary society."*

89. Sentences isolated from their context are apt to be misleading. But it would not be difficult to quote from the works of the Fathers passages illustrating the application of Christian thought to social relationships during the earlier centuries of our era. "Thou shalt share all things with thy neighbour and shalt not say that they are thine own property; for if you are sharers in the things which cannot pass away, how much more in those that can?"† "Observe those who are heterodox concerning Christ Jesus's grace, which came to us, how contrary they are to God's rule. They have no regard for deeds of charity, for the widow and the orphan, the oppressed, the bound, the hungry or the thirsty."‡ "We must treat servants as we do ourselves, for they are men like ourselves; and God . . . is equally the God of all, both to free men and to slaves."§ "God Who begets and inspires men has wished them to be all equal, that is all on a level. . . . Neither the Romans nor the Greeks succeeded in maintaining justice, because they kept men divided from each other by various gradations of rank, ranging from poor to rich, from humble to mighty, from private persons to the highest powers of royalty. For where all are not on a level there is not equity. The mere fact of inequality excludes justice, the very essence of which consists in making equal those who entered this life by an equal lot."|| "The harshest form of covetousness is not even to give things perishable to those who need them. To whom do I do injustice by keeping my very own? Tell me,

* Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, vol. 1, pp. 184-5. 1908. (Williams and Norgate.)

† The Epistle of Barnabas, xix. 8.

‡ St. Ignatius, *Ad Smyrn.*, vi.

§ Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, iii, c. 12, 92.

|| Lactantius, *De Justitia*, Lib. V. 15.

what is your own? Whence did you get it and acquire it for your living? It is exactly as if a man seized a theatre seat and drove off all who came to it, claiming as his private property what is granted for the common use of all. Such are the rich. They seize upon the common heritage and make it private by their pre-occupation. But if every man took what sufficed for his own need, and left what is over for the needy, no one would be rich and no one poor. . . . He who strips a man of his clothes will be called a foot-pad. Is not he who fails to clothe the naked when he could do it worthy of the same title? It is the hungry man's bread you hold; it is the raiment of the naked you lock in your cupboard."* "Poverty and riches, what we call freedom and slavery, and similarly named things, are later effects in the race of men. They are the common diseases which have fallen upon our baseness. . . . He Who first formed man made him free and a master, bound only by the law of God's commandments."† "It is not yours that you give to the poor, it is his. For what was given as common for the use of all, you alone usurp. The earth is all men's and not the property of the rich; but those who use their own are fewer than those who have lost the use of it. Therefore (in giving alms) you pay a debt, you do not bestow a bounty."‡ "Let us abstain, my brethren, from holding private property, or from the love of it, if we cannot from the holding of it, and thus make a place for the Lord."§ "In one way must they be admonished who neither covet other men's goods nor bestow their own; in another way, those who give what they have, but cease not to seize other men's goods. Those who neither covet other men's goods nor bestow their own are to be warned that they should anxiously bear in mind that the land, the source of their revenue, is common to all men, and for that reason bears its fruits for the common benefit of all. In vain, therefore, do they think themselves innocent who claim God's common gift as private to themselves. . . . For when we minister any sort of necessities to the needy we only give them their own, we do not bestow on them what is ours. We are discharging a debt of justice; we are not doing works of charity."||

40. To be judged fairly such sentences must, of course, be read with the qualifications suggested by their context, and must be interpreted in relation to the circumstances of the different periods and places in which they were written. But it is clearly true to say that a thought common to several of the Fathers is that by Divine or natural law all property is common, and

* St. Basil, *Hom. in illud Lucæ, Destruam.*

† St. Gregory Nazianzen. *Or. xiv, 25.*

‡ St. Ambrose, *de Nabuthe, xii.*

§ St. Augustine. In Psalm CXXXI.

|| St. Gregory, *Regula Pastoralis Curæ, XXI.*

that private property is tolerated as a concession to the weakness of human nature, that riches are a danger to the soul, if not a positive evil, and that the assistance of those who need aid is one of the first duties incumbent upon the brethren—an act of justice rather than of charity. "To the Fathers," writes Dr. A. J. Carlyle,* "the only natural condition is that of common ownership and individual use. The world was made for the common benefit of mankind, that all should receive from it what they require. They admit, however, that human nature being what it is, greedy, avaricious, and vicious, it is impossible for men to live normally under the condition of common ownership. . . . Private property is allowed, but only in order to avoid the danger of violence and confusion; and the institution cannot override the natural right of man to obtain what he needs from the abundance of that which the earth brings forth."

41. Such examples of patristic teaching upon subjects bearing some analogy to that referred to us could, if it were worth while, be greatly increased. What is significant and of permanent instructiveness in them is not so much the specific conclusions reached, as the frank application of Christian principles to social relationships and institutions as well as to individual conduct; to property, to riches and poverty and the stewardship of wealth, and to what would to-day be called economic questions. It is not considered that these questions fall outside the sphere of Christian ethics, or are matters of indifference. On the contrary, it is suggested that there is an attitude towards them which is distinctively Christian, in the sense of being different from that prevalent in the non-Christian world, and that this attitude it is the duty of Christians to practise and of the Church to preach.
42. As the teaching of the Fathers contributed one element to the intellectual background of the mediæval church it had an importance extending beyond the centuries in which it was formulated and the particular conditions to which primarily it referred. What effect, if any, such conceptions had upon practical conduct, either when they were first developed or in later periods of history; how far, if at all, the Christian tradition influenced economic conduct and modified social relationships in what are called the middle ages, are questions to which very different answers are given by different authorities.
43. The mediæval church did not speak with one voice, and it is easy, by selecting witnesses, to present a picture which is consistent with itself, but untrue to the facts. There is much

* "The Theory of Property in Mediæval Theology," in *Property: Its Duties and Rights*, edited by the Bishop of Oxford. 1915. (Macmillan.)

evidence to support the view of those who argue that in economic and social matters it attempted little, and failed in what it attempted. The Church was hampered, it is said, by its own traditions and theories. Its view, not only of religion but of society, was static. The possibility of extensive changes in material conditions was hardly conceived; and those who thought of State and Church as progressive communities tended to become more or less definitely heretical or, at least, anti-clerical. It was ignorant of history and science, and the clergy, as a whole, were deplorably unlearned. It was haunted by the Apocalypse, and it hardly seemed worth while to look forward in a world which might end to-morrow. The one thing that mattered was eternity. It was enough to remind the poor that he might go to heaven if he willed, and the rich that in accumulating more than was sufficient for churches and for charity he ran a terrible risk of hell. Nor, such an interpretation might continue, was the practice of the mediæval church better than its theory. The ecclesiastical landowner, like the lay landowner, bought and sold serfs when he bought and sold land. There are few, if any, examples of a mediæval churchman who denounced serfdom. Manumissions of ecclesiastical, as of lay, bondmen do, indeed, occur, but they are neither very numerous nor always disinterested. There were serfs on some English monastic estates almost up to the Reformation, and on some French monastic estates till just before the Revolution. What the South German peasants thought of the practical working of the ecclesiastical system on the eve of the Reformation is shown by the movement led by Hans Böhm, by the Bundschuh revolts, and by the articles drawn up at Memmingen in 1525. The mediæval church was not, as has sometimes been suggested, democratic, except in the sense that it was inclusive. No doubt some of its officers expressed sympathy with the poor. But, as the church of general unity, it remained on good terms with the rich, and the freedom with which illegitimates of noble birth were promoted to ecclesiastical offices is a proof of its complaisance to the aristocracy. Almost the commonest charge brought against it by contemporaries, at least from the middle of the thirteenth century, was that of avarice. Popes, it was said, and said truly, embezzled money given for crusades and traded in livings. Abbeys ate up parishes. Parish clergy ground the peasants by a system of mortuaries, which, in its way, was hardly less odious than serfdom. Clerical and feudal dues appear in some places and periods to have been regarded with equal detestation. True, churchmen spoke much of the blessings of poverty, classed avarice among the deadly sins, denounced usury, and occasionally punished the usurer in the ecclesiastical courts. But was the rigour

of the Church more beneficial than its laxity? In encouraging the giving of alms it did nothing to remove the causes of poverty, and helped to make mendicancy a profession. Its teaching as to poverty was not easily reconcilable with an elaborate hierarchical system or with endowments. When St. Francis brought that teaching from sermons into life he was defeated by the official Church, which virtually made the friars a possessionate order like the rest. In less than a century after his death it was made a formal count of heresy against friars that they obstinately clung to doctrines of poverty which it is certain that St. Francis had held, and on those, among other, counts they went to the stake. The author of *Piers Plowman* knew very well who had driven charity out of the Church—charity which had been there in the days of St. Francis, but which now lingered in his order only among “poor fools” who were persecuted for their pains. The teaching of the Church as to usury was based partly upon the Bible, partly upon Aristotle, partly upon practical experience of the effects of moneylending in a community composed predominantly of peasants and craftsmen. But when economic relations grew into something faintly resembling their modern complexity, as in the commercial cities of Italy they did even in the latter part of the twelfth century, the ecclesiastical prohibition of usury was either evaded in practice or qualified by multitudinous exceptions. In its general rule, “Lend, hoping nothing in return,” the Church looked backwards, not forwards, and in order to maintain the principle it was compelled to connive at casuistical expedients which preserved it in name but undermined it in fact. If the relief of the poor and the foundation of *Monts de Piété* ought not to be forgotten, neither must it be forgotten that poverty was accepted as part of an unalterable order, and that the Church drove into heresy the Waldenses, the poor men of Lyons, and the Humiliati.

44. This, in bald summary, is one side of the picture. But there is another side. If the Church had not in some measure stood for social righteousness its influence would be unintelligible, and the crash would not have been so long deferred. Granted the truth of the charge of greed and worldly ambition brought against many of its officers, yet the Church itself had helped to create the standards by which it was condemned, and the very fervour with which, in the later middle ages, its corruption was denounced both by lay and ecclesiastical writers is an indication that it had not failed to inspire an ideal of Christian conduct in men's minds, however deplorably it had failed to realise that ideal in its own practice. If most churchmen accepted the prevalent view which regarded

society as static, identified equity with custom, and held existing class relationships to be part of a divinely appointed system, yet the idea of status itself had more than one application. It offered protection as well as imposed disabilities, and a competitive age may do well to remember that, while it limited the opportunities of self-advancement, it gave the weak some security against the downward thrust of economic pressure. Some eminent churchmen protested against the slave trade; and though the Church did little to abolish serfdom, it did something to humanise it. There is some evidence that, in England at least, peasants enjoyed easier terms on the estates of ecclesiastical bodies than on those of lay landowners, and much to show that they were often gravely prejudiced by the economic revolution which accompanied the secularisation of monastic property. More important, the teaching of the Church, that, though different classes had different functions, yet all classes have rights and all classes have duties, had an importance which can hardly be exaggerated. All men are equal in the eyes of the Creator: "*Homo servus alterius secundum corpus, non autem secundum mentem.*"* While it is true that the preoccupation of the Church with the next world often implied indifference to the wrongs of this, it is equally true that it was the occasion of lessons to the rich and powerful that their authority is fleeting and that their riches will perish with them, and of warnings not to oppress those who are as fully the children of God as themselves, and who, though their inferiors on earth, may be their superiors in heaven. The teaching of Chaucer's parson is typical of the thought of a mediæval churchman upon rural relationships. "Of covetousness come these hard lordships, through which men be destroyed by tallages, customs and carriages, more than their duty or reason is. And eke they take of their bondmen amercements, which might more reasonably be cleped extortions than amercements Certes these lordships do wrong, that bereave their bond-folk things they never gave them Lords should not glorify themselves in their lordships, since by natural condition they be not lords of thralls, for that thralldom cometh first by the desert of sin These that thou clepest thy thralls be God's people, for humble folk be Christ's friends. Think eke that of such seed as churls spring, spring lords. As well may be the churl saved as his lord. The same death that taketh the churl, such death taketh the lord. Therefore, I rede, do right so with the churl, as thou wouldest that thy lord did with thee, if thou were in his plight. Every sinful man is a churl of sin I wot well there is degree above degree, as reason is, and skill it is that men

* St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theol.* 2a, 2ae, q. 104, art. 5.

do their devoir, thereas it is due. But, certes, extortions and despite of your underlings is damnable."*

45. It is true, of course, that in the application of religious conceptions, as in the application of political conceptions, to the daily business of society there was in the middle ages a profound gulf between theory and practice. But, after all, it might be said, the teaching of the Church is more significant than its practical action. It was the greatest teaching body in existence; its thought wound into men's minds by a hundred channels, and its influence must be judged by its indirect effect in modifying opinion, rather than by its direct intervention through legislation or judicial action. That indirect effect was considerable, even in the sphere of social and economic affairs. Mediæval thought did not allow that there was any department of life which lay outside the scope of Christian ethics, and which was to be guided by a purely naturalistic morality, such as that to-day expressed in the phrases, "the struggle for existence," or the "survival of the fittest," or to be regarded as the sphere of mechanism rather than of morality. In theory the Church aimed at spiritualising industry by relating it to the central purpose of man's life, his preparation for the Kingdom of God. Economics were one branch of ethics or politics; ethics and politics were one branch of theology. As presented both in the schoolmen and in popular sermons the note of mediæval thought upon economic relationships is that economic activities must be estimated by the contribution which they make to the welfare of man as a spiritual being, and that economic conduct is one branch of moral conduct which must be judged by the same principles as are applied to conduct of other kinds. What sanctifies or condemns the pursuit of wealth is the purpose for which it is carried on. "The law of Divinity is to lead the lowest through the intermediate to the highest things." Riches are not an end but a means. The acquisition of them, if not laudable, is harmless as long as it is regarded as one rung, and a low rung, in the ladder of human life; as long as it is duly subordinated to its main spiritual purpose. Thus trade is honourable, when a man "refers the moderate gain that he seeks from trade to the sustenance of his family or to the relief of the distressed, or when he applies himself to it on behalf of the public interest, that the necessities of life may not be wanting to his country, and seeks gain not as an end but as the wages of his labour."† But the desire for gain is a sin "if it leads to the despising of eternal good for temporal" or if it causes another to be in want. "For temporal goods are subject to man, that he may

* Chaucer, *The Persones Tale*, §§ 64-66.

† St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theol.* 2a, 2ae, q. 99, art. 4.

use them for his necessity, not that he may set up his rest in them, or be idly solicitous about them.”*
 46.

Hence the sharp dualism between personal conduct—the sphere of morality—and economic transactions—the sphere of objective laws—which is so marked a feature of later thought, either is unintelligible to most mediæval writers or is denounced by them. In economic matters their ethical standards were not necessarily either better or worse than those of the modern world; but they were certainly different. A good deal of what is now praised as enterprise would have been condemned by them as covetousness. A good deal of prudence would have been called avarice; of thriftlessness, charity, and of good business, extortion or forestalling or usury. Mediæval opinion held that economic transactions ought to be controlled by moral considerations, not because it was subtle, but because it was simple; because it did not regard the economic world as a self-contained department of life with standards of its own, but judged it by principles derived from current ethical and religious conceptions. That is not to say, of course, that these principles were not often abandoned in practice. But in abandoning them men knew they were acting wrongly and were known to be so acting by their neighbours; their conduct was not condoned on the ground that “Business is Business.” In all contracts, it was thought, there is a standard of equity, for “a transaction designed for the common advantage of two people should not bear heavier upon one than upon the other, and the contract between them should proceed upon the principle of equality.”† There is a just price, the price which yields equal advantage to buyer and to seller. There is a fair rent, the rent which allows landlord and tenant their customary livelihood. There is a reasonable profit and a reasonable wage which enables a man to maintain himself and his family in his accustomed position in society, and which pays him for his risk and for his labour. The man who takes advantage of his neighbour’s necessity to exact more, the monopolist, the speculator, the forestaller, is guilty of sin. He is guilty, above all, if, like the usurer, he exacts it without labour of his own. For work is a duty, and “to wish, like the usurer, to live without labour is contrary to nature.”‡ Limited by various qualifications as to different kinds of contracts, the general denunciation of usury was directed against almost any inequitable bargain, not only between borrower and lender, but between buyer and seller and landlord and tenant. It was the classical example of “unreasonable covetousness,” a general heading to which all minor economic offences

* St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theol.* 2a, 2ae, q. 55, art. 6.

† *Ibid.* 2a, 2ae, q. 77, art. 1.

‡ Gerson, *de Contract*, pars. 1, cons. 13.

were referred. Nor were these conceptions mere theories. Municipal records show that they were the assumptions of plain men who sat on juries and made good ordinances for the government of boroughs. They had their practical foundations in the economic circumstances of village and town. What the Church did was to work them into a system, by relating even the details of economic life to the universal principles of the Christian faith. The characteristic of mediæval thought on social relationships—the thought not only of the “thinkers” but of some part at least of the practical world—was the attempt to regard all economic questions as a sub-department of the grand interest of human life—religion.

47. The essence of the difference between these ideas and modern economic opinion is the disappearance of that characteristic. It has been expressed in a variety of ways, as the substitution of science for ethics, or of reason for authority, or of enlightened self-interest for the rule of custom, or of economic rationalism for religious tradition, or of impersonal laws for personal morality. The change was a gradual one, a transformation extending over centuries, the beginnings of which can be discovered in the fourteenth century, if not earlier, and the full implications of which were not evident until the middle of the seventeenth. And it did not take place, as is sometimes suggested, at the Reformation. The Renaissance and the Reformation gave, it is true, a tremendous impetus to the revision of accepted economic, as well as of accepted political, assumptions. But in England, at least, there was in the sixteenth century no sharp or definite breach with the traditional view, which held that economic activity was part of ordinary moral conduct, and, as such, to be judged by moral considerations. Indeed, the very reaction produced by swift economic changes, the confusion caused by the enclosures and the spread of pasture-farming, the increase in vagrancy, the confiscation of monastic estates and of part of the property of gilds, the growth of foreign trade and of an international money market, gave a shock to accepted ethical standards which caused the traditional conceptions to be reaffirmed with the heightened emphasis of a doctrine which is menaced. Faced with problems created by the transition towards capitalist agriculture and capitalist industry, writers and preachers repeated the arguments of the schoolmen against “uncharitable” dealings, unreasonable prices, unconscionable rents and fines, the “bringing of the livings of many into the hands of one,” and the damnable sin of usury, because the schoolmen had systematised sentiments which had their roots in popular instincts.
48. Not only were such ideas reaffirmed, but tentative attempts were made to apply them. Ecclesiastical courts appear to have continued to deal with certain economic matters throughout

the sixteenth century. Secular authorities used new machinery to enforce ancient traditions. Reasons of State stepped into the field which was gradually being vacated by theology, and the fact that the objects of statesmen in interfering with economic life were in reality of a severely practical character did not prevent their being normally expressed in the customary phraseology of religion. If the man who by competitive methods disturbed customary relationships, who raised rents, or "engrossed" farms, or cornered the wheat supply, or charged unconscionable usury was, from one point of view, guilty of sin, he was, from another, a disturber of the peace; a bad neighbour who was unpopular in his own locality, a troublesome citizen whose conduct might lead to a riot. Hence, in spite of the revolution in rural life produced by the dissolution of the monasteries, Tudor governments endeavoured to enforce traditional standards, partly because to enforce tradition was the simplest way to enforce order, partly because statesmen had inherited from the Church the conception that there was a standard of equity in economic transactions which ought to be maintained, and, however practical or even Machiavellian, could not step outside the circle of ideas into which they were born. Preambles of statutes and proclamations are bad evidence for what men did, but they are good evidence for what men thought they ought in decency at least to appear to believe; and the mixture of motives is illustrated by the legislation against depopulation, the statutes forbidding, and then limiting, usury, and the attempts of the Privy Council to control prices, to prevent engrossing and forestalling, and to enforce on reluctant parishes the maintenance of persons in distress. If such interference with economic activity was unpopular with business men and financiers, the activity of juries in presenting forestallers and moneylenders suggests that it was in accordance with the opinion of the peasants and small masters who formed the bulk of Elizabethan society, and who retained the mediæval distrust of the un-neighbourly conduct of the man who was "a great taker of advantages." Bunyan's comments upon the economic iniquities of Mr. Badman, is a belated expression of sentiments which lingered in the popular consciousness long after they had been expelled from the world of thought by the new science of "Political Arithmetic."

49. For, of course, by the middle of the seventeenth century several causes had combined to depose, first religious, and then moral, considerations from their position of theoretical pre-eminence as the standard by which economic transactions were to be tried. Impersonal methods of economic organisation, the growth of foreign trade and of the money-market, capitalist agriculture and capitalist industry, made it difficult to treat

economic life as amenable to the simple moral criteria of charitable and covetous dealing which could be applied when merchant and customer were neighbours, and master and servant lived in the same house. As these conditions spread, economic conduct is no longer regarded as laudable or blameworthy, for men are no longer responsible for it. They are like men thrusting one another in a throng, or like the wheels of a clock, in which "the first wheel, being stirred, drives the next, and that the third, till the last moves the instrument that strikes the clock."* And as economic activity escaped from the sphere of morals, it entered that of objective science, which is concerned not with right or wrong, but with facts, and the laws of which are generalisations, not precepts. The forces which had fostered economic rationalism in Florence in the fourteenth century fostered it in England in the sixteenth. In 1550 it was still something of a novelty, in literature though not in practice. Sixty years later Bacon combined it with some remnant of the older tradition. By the middle of the seventeenth century it set the tone of economic thought. Its progress in the Elizabethan age may be traced in the debates on the statutes against depopulation, or still more in the debates on the usury laws, in which quotations from St. Augustine and the Psalms jostle appeals to practical experience of the operations of economic self-interest.† Naturally, the new science was individualistic, for its essence was the denial of any authority superior to the individual reason. Naturally, also, the Church came to accept it as a substitute for its traditional teaching as to social ethics. For the Church no longer was an intellectual leader, but went to school with the world, both when it was wise to do so and when it was not. It had no independent authority, and no distinctive interpretation of social rights and obligations. By the end of the seventeenth century the ground had been prepared for the triumph of the mechanistic individualism of the eighteenth, and it was probable that when that triumph took place the Church, which was the client of the dominant aristocracy, would have no alternative theory of society to oppose to it.

(iv) *The influence of the new Political Economy*

50. To understand the cause and the effects of the severance between the religious and economic aspects of the modern world it is instructive to study their severance during the period when it was most marked. That period may be con-

* *The Common Weal of this Realm of England* (c. 1540), f. 58. Ed. E. Lamond (Cambridge University Press).

† D'Ewes, *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1571.

veniently dated from 1776, the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, to 1869, when Mill threw over the wages fund theory; and the central idea of the period may be found in the *laissez-faire* theory, "the obvious and simple system of natural liberty." "Liberty" was invaluable as a means of breaking down the barriers and restrictions which, as an inheritance of the Middle Ages, were hampering the new life. Commerce and industry had found themselves curbed and checked at every point by a wire entanglement of protective duties, bounties, State fixing of wages and prices. The new economic doctrine was the heavy artillery which blew all this obstruction away. The wealth of nations was shown to consist, like the wealth of individuals, in producing more than is consumed, and to depend upon mutual service between the different nations, not upon an internecine bargain snatching.

51. Under perfect freedom, wages and prices, trade and industry would all "find their natural level. This was almost the only lesson the ruling class learnt from Adam Smith."* His equally uncompromising denunciation of the Corn Laws and other protective duties, of Combination Laws against workmen, and Settlement Acts restricting the freedom of labour, his proposal to tax ground rents and not food, were all conveniently ignored.

52. Again, Adam Smith had denounced the payment of wages in Truck, and said that high wages increased population, industry, and production; that "the dictates of reason" ought to moderate the hours of labour; that "our merchants who complain of the bad effect of high wages say nothing of the bad effect of high profits." But these views of his on labour were equally ignored. The governing classes adopted, in short, those parts of the economists' teaching which appeared advantageous to themselves, and tended to neglect the remainder. When, in 1795, Whitbread urged in the House of Commons the desirability of fixing a legal minimum wage, the Government of the day opposed the proposal on the ground that wages ought to be allowed to find their "natural" level, and Pitt recommended the disastrous alternative of lavish out-relief. When, faced with the appalling misery produced by the new conditions of industry, the hand-loom weavers begged in 1808 that the State should intervene to fix minimum rates, the Parliamentary Committee which examined their petition reported that the policy suggested was "wholly inadmissible in principle, incapable of being reduced to practice by any means which can possibly be devised, and, if practicable, productive of the most fatal consequences."† When, despairing of protection from the State, the working classes endeavoured

* Hammond, *The Town Labourer, 1760-1832*. 1917. (Longmans).

† *Reports on Petition of Cotton Weavers*, 1809 and 1811.

to protect themselves by combination, Parliament, by the Combination Laws of 1799 and 1800, made membership of a combination a criminal offence. Such remnants of an industrial code as survived from an earlier age were abolished in deference to the gospel of free competition, almost at the very moment that Parliament proceeded to protect agriculture by a more stringent Corn Law. In 1815 it forbade the importation of foreign wheat so long as the price of wheat in the home market did not rise above 80s. It repealed the wage clauses of the Statute of Artificers in 1813, and the apprenticeship clauses in 1814, both of which had probably long been virtually inoperative, but the enforcement of which had been demanded by considerable numbers of the working classes. In 1824 the last remaining Acts fixing wages, the so-called Spitalfields Acts, were repealed, although not only the majority of employers and workmen in the industry concerned who had given evidence about their working, but the Parliamentary Committee which had reported on them five years before, had stated that they had prevented the appearance in London of the pauperism which characterised the other silk-weaving districts, and had recommended their continuance.*

53. Parliament was as slow to extend new methods of legislative protection as it was quick to abolish the old. As early as 1784 "public attention was drawn to the state of working children . . . by that most effectual of all reminders, an infectious fever" in one of the cotton districts of Lancashire, and a committee of Manchester doctors, in pointing out the causes, called attention "to the injury done to young persons through confinement and the long-continued labour, to which . . . the cotton mills have given occasion."† Yet it was not till 1802 that Parliament limited the working hours of pauper apprentices in cotton factories to twelve a day. When, in 1819, it returned to the subject, it again restricted its interference to cotton mills, fixed the age limit below which children might not be employed in them at nine years, and forbade any person under sixteen to be employed for more than twelve hours a day exclusive of meal times. It was not till 1833 that factory inspectors—four in number—were appointed, and not till 1847 that a ten hours' day was established, nominally at least, for women and young persons in the textile trades. Lord Shaftesbury's account of the struggle to obtain factory legislation is well known: "Out of Parliament, there was in society every form of 'good-natured' and compassionate contempt. In the provinces, the anger and irritation of the opponents was almost fearful. . . . In very few instances did any mill-owner appear on the platform with me; in still fewer

* *Report of Committee on Ribbon Weavers*, 1818.

† Hutchins and Harrison, *History of Factory Legislation*. 1911. (P. S. King).

the ministers of any religious denomination. At first not one, except the Rev. Mr. Bull, of Brierley, near Bradford ; and, even to the last, very few, so cowed were they (or in themselves so indifferent) by the overwhelming influence of the cotton lords. I had more aid from the medical than from the divine profession.”* Thus it came about that the new economic world born of the industrial and agricultural revolutions was not merely dominated by exclusively economic ideas, but that those ideas represented a very narrow and one-sided part of economics, and were unconsciously a mere reflection of a short-sighted view of their interests taken by the ruling class of landlords and manufacturers.

54. Can we now begin to answer the question : how could the age tolerate those abuses which are sickening even to read of ? How could men who were really religious, men sincerely patriotic and personally benevolent, how could men even of common sense defend as a quite natural state of things such facts as children of six kept at work in factories from 5 a.m. to 9 p.m., girls under eight crawling through coal seams eighteen inches high, boys of four sent up flues seven inches square, in “ a country renowned for its humanity ” ?

55. There are several considerations which answer this question.

(1) Men took the world around them for granted, as we are doing in this our own age. They assumed that the proper thing was to accept that station in life unto which it had pleased God to call them.

The Bible was taken as inculcating resignation in this world with the expectation of justice and recompense in the world to come, and Christianity as not a standard by which to judge institutions, but as a Divine warrant for submission to them.

Thus Wilberforce, in his *Practical View* † laid down for the lower orders, explains “ that their more lowly path has been allotted to them by the hand of God ; that it is their part faithfully to discharge its duties, and contentedly to bear its inconveniences ; that the present state of things is very short ; that the objects about which worldly men conflict so eagerly are not worth the contest ; that the peace of mind which religion offers indiscriminately to all ranks affords more true satisfaction than all the expensive pleasures which are beyond the poor man’s reach ; that in this view the poor have the advantage ; that, if their superiors enjoy more abundant comforts, they are also exposed to many temptations from which the inferior classes are happily exempted ; that, ‘ having food and raiment, they should be therewith content,’

* Hodder, *Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*. 1887. (Cassell).

† Wilberforce, *Practical View of the System of Professed Christians Contrasted with Real Christianity*. 1797.

since their situation in life, with all its evils, is better than they have deserved at the hand of God; and, finally, that all human distinctions will soon be done away, and the true followers of Christ will all, as children of the same Father, be alike admitted to the possession of the same heavenly inheritance. Such are the blessed effects of Christianity on the temporal well-being of political communities."

Paley actually argued that the poor were better off than the rich, who lead a languid, satiated existence; whereas all the provision which a poor man's child requires is industry and innocence . . . "frugality is itself a pleasure, and the necessary care and forecast to keep expenses level form an agreeable engagement of the thoughts."

56. (2) Not only was the social conscience silenced by the theory that "liberty" was "the natural order," and that any practical "inconveniences" were only temporary and certain to be cured as the liberty became more complete and competition more unrestricted, but the theory crystallised into an accepted maxim that all might safely be left to the "enlightened selfishness" of employers; "landowners and farmers by following the dictates of their own interests become in the natural order of things the best trustees and guardians for the public" (House of Commons Committee, 1817). Burke said: "It is plainly more the farmer's interest that his men should thrive than that his horses should be well fed, sleek, plump, and fit for use"; and "the benign and wise Disposer of all things obliges men, whether they will or not, in pursuing their own selfish interests, to connect the general good with their own individual success."

This was the principle invoked against limiting the children's working day to eleven hours; "the employer is the person who knows the different degrees of strength and is the most likely to avoid overworking them." Similar arguments may be heard in the wool and the cotton industry to-day, backed by similar phrases such as "the indispensable requirements of British trade against foreign competition," and "the impossibility of free contracts being onerous to either party." It is still actually the case that "young persons" between 14 and 18 years of age may lawfully be employed for the same hours as adult women—namely, 55½ hours in textile factories and 60 hours in non-textile factories and workshops.

57. (3) Another influence which acted as an opiate to the social conscience was the teaching of Malthus. This was far from his intention. He wrote in 1798 to combat the dangerous optimism of Godwin, who would lead men to expect "the perfectibility of man" in a near future and by an automatic social process. Malthus, on the contrary, depicted human progress as dogged by the menacing shadow of increasing population; "man

multiplies up to his food . . . the numbers are cut down by famine, disease, and vice . . . this is the sharp surgery of Providence, the *vis medicatrix nature*." It is true that in his second edition this warm-hearted and generous thinker relieved this picture of the struggle for food in a purely animal society by introducing the human qualities of foresight and reason ; in a civilised society the preventive check, delay in the marriage age, would operate, and the society would not fall back on the positive checks of vice, misery, disease. But what was really adopted by his age was the crude doctrine of the edition of 1798 ; the qualifications introduced in 1803 got little hearing. Thus it became accepted that poverty was a sort of Divine safety-valve to society ; evil is allowed to exist that it may stimulate us to activity ; and Malthus did, in fact, hold that relief of the poor created the poverty which it vainly professed to cure. Hitherto society had, since 1795, been acting on the principle that low wages were to be made up out of rates, and this was another salve to the social conscience. But gradually the Malthusian teaching made its way, and was at last embodied in the Act of 1834 abolishing outdoor relief to the able-bodied.

This policy was defended as being, if drastic, yet probably wholesome. But, to be defensible at all, it required as its logical complement the repeal of the Corn Laws. The Corn Laws, however, were not repealed till 1846, and an interval of twelve years thus was left in which the labourer was thrown upon his own earnings, while the price of bread was increased threefold and fourfold by legal enactments supposed to be for the landed interests. It is significant that this interval witnessed the rise of Chartism. Is our own Poor Law system so much more satisfactory ? After seventy-five years' experience it is reported by a Royal Commission that two millions of paupers and an expenditure of £17,000,000 a year, besides the unsatisfactory position as regards the children, the sick, the aged, and the vagrants, constitute a severe indictment of the existing system. The Commission was unanimous in condemning the workhouse, the union as area, the election of guardians, and the existing practice of out-relief and medical relief ; and they remarked that the reform of 1834 tried to confine itself to drastic surgery, whereas we now see that besides this are needed preventive, remedial, and restorative methods. The reformers of 1834 and the administrators (and many of us have served in this capacity), who tried to carry out their principles, were unconsciously making the economic assumption that destitution, and even poverty, were due mainly to personal character, and not to economic causes often stronger than any one person. " Pauperism is, in general, due to indolence, improvidence, or vice, and can be averted by ordinary care or prudence " . . . " to turn the independent

labourer into a pauper, all that is required is to offer relief without conditions; conversely, to turn a pauper into an independent labourer, all that is required is to offer relief only on harder conditions, to make the lot of the pauper less eligible than that of the independent labourer." We see better now the ludicrous aspect of these complacent simplifications of the economic problem.

58. (4) It was Ricardo's economics which completed the final stage in making social evils tolerable to the conscience even of the best men in the generations from 1776 to 1869. The laws regulating profits and wages were, like all scientific laws, fixed. The price of labour depended on the supply of it and the demand for it; this market price of labour tended towards the natural price of labour—that is, the minimum of subsistence. This was taken to be the "iron law of wages"; and thus science seemed to put its seal on the "irremediable poverty of the poor." "Thus came the Wages Fund theory by a combination (as it has been well put) of Malthus's Law of Population and Ricardo's theory of values, each in a crude form." There was by this theory a fixed fund devoted to wages, the amount available for each individual being simply the quotient of the total sum divided by the number of recipients. No human effort could alter this, for at any time it was the mere ratio of capital to population. All that human effort could do was to alter the relative distribution of the shares—that is, to interfere between the recipients, and this interference would be unjust. Thus the influence of this theory during the period from about 1820 to 1870 was incalculably great in staying social progress, in lulling the conscience of the educated classes, and therefore in encouraging a violent class antagonism.
59. When all these currents of thought are taken into account, it becomes intelligible how good men could tolerate appalling social conditions. Many such men, like Sadler and Buxton, felt the responsibilities of wealth. Many, like Romilly and Whitbread, were ardent reformers. But all of them, and society as a whole, were the victims of the divorce of economics from ethics. Moreover, economics was not merely non-moral, it was even non-human, and therefore narrow and misleading even in the economic sphere. Nowadays we begin to see this, and our task is first to accept the modern economists' work in putting their science on a broader human basis, and then to keep economics in its proper place as a subordinate study in a wider social conscience. It was all painfully wrong. But it belonged to a time when spiritual life in the Church was at its lowest level. Hence there was no spiritual force strong enough to make the stubborn protest of faith and charity against what seemed to be deference to the strictest scientific

teaching. After that, spiritual life was absorbed in the effort to get upon its feet again, and hence it was only after the distinctively spiritual revivals of the different movements that the Church began in the way that is described below to occupy itself with social policy and reform. The mistake may well recur in days to come in very different forms if popular theories, intellectual and social, are not controlled by spiritual forces.

60. In the fifty years which laid the foundations of modern England the influence of the Church as a witness to social righteousness was, it is hardly an exaggeration to say, almost negligible. It helped, through the establishment of the National Society, to sow the seeds of what afterwards became a national system of elementary education; and individual Churchmen, like Sadler, Shaftesbury, Oastler, and Bull, the Vicar of Brierley, fought for factory legislation in the face of an almost overwhelming body of complacent indifference or embittered hostility. But against the prevalent materialism of the age, with its sacrifice of human welfare to the rage for productivity, its reverence for the rights of property and its contempt for the rights of men and women, against the industrial oppression which ground the workers in factory and mine and the political oppression which culminated in Peterloo, the Church raised no voice of warning or protest. Nor indeed, with a few conspicuous exceptions, does it appear to have realised that a warning was required, or that spiritual issues were involved in the reshaping of social relationships under the pressure of the new economic forces. The Church carried into the strange and turbulent world of modern industry the easy-going acceptance of the established order which had characterised it in the eighteenth century, and repeated the watchwords of that order long after it had begun to be dissolved. Allied through its leaders to the aristocracy, it shared with them the terror of popular agitation which France had inspired. It was hardly more independent intellectually than it was socially. It is the fate of those who have not any clear interpretation of social rights and obligations to be at the mercy of those who have. Uninspired by any distinctive conception of social values drawn, as such a conception might have been, from the Christian tradition, the Church, like the rest of the upper classes, turned for guidance to the economists, who themselves possessed, indeed, a kind of religion; and the economists seemed to confirm the view that moral considerations were irrelevant to industry, that social misery was an inevitable incident in economic progress, and that attempts to remove by legislative intervention the evils of the economic system must be attended by consequences disastrous to all, and particularly disastrous to those for whose benefit intervention was designed. The natural consequence was a presentation

of religion which offered it to the rich as a preservative of social order and to the poor as a consolation for a misery which was inevitable in an imperfect world. "The economist besought the reformer not to quarrel with nature; the Christian might warn him not to quarrel with the dispensations of God. For such, minds Christianity was not a standard by which to judge the institutions of society, but a reason for accepting them."*

(v.) *Recent Developments*

61.

We have to confess, then, the failure of the Church to give a faithful witness in the face of the moral problems which the Industrial Revolution brought forth. Can we say that the Christian conscience of the present time is awake to social duty? At least there is a movement away from selfish individualism, a consciousness that a religion which is "drenched with self-regard" cannot be a genuine Christianity, a growing conviction that the one purpose worth striving after is the Kingdom of God, and that no region of life, least of all the sphere of human industry, can be excluded from His sovereignty.

62.

Apart from the strong and effective protests of individual reformers, like Lord Shaftesbury, against the worst evils of the new industrialism, the first attempt to substitute the Gospel of the Kingdom for the "gospel of self-interest" came from the Christian Socialists, among whom Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley hold the place of honour. The name did not imply any collectivist economic theory; in Maurice's words: "Anyone who recognises the principle of co-operation as a stronger and truer principle than that of competition has a right to the honour or the disgrace of being called a Christian Socialist."

Other teachers, such as John Ruskin, proclaimed their prophetic message; other reformers gave themselves to practical effort. The leaven was at work and the Christian conscience was beginning to rebel against the postulates of the older individualism. Then, in the year 1889, a group of Churchmen, among whom Brooke Fosse Westcott and Henry Scott Holland were leaders, endeavoured to concentrate and organise Christian opinion on social duty, and the Christian Social Union was formed. Its objects were described as follows:

1. To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and

* Hammond, *The Town Labourer*, 1760-1832. 1917. (Longmans.)

principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.

8. To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.

While many members of the Christian Social Union have devoted themselves to practical social work, its main function has been educational. In its various branches throughout the country it has promoted serious study, and its published literature, most of it the work of experts, covers a wide field of social reform. Other Christian communions have followed its lead in the formation of social unions or guilds, and an endeavour has been made, with considerable success, to draw these unions together for conference and united action. Mention should also be made of societies, such as the Church Socialist League, which have identified themselves more closely with some special economic propaganda.

63. We must not exaggerate the importance of these organisations, but they at least give evidence of an awakening conscience. It is significant that, at the Pan-Anglican Congress in 1908, the section which dealt with social subjects aroused the widest popular interest. So far as the leaders of the Church are concerned, resolutions of the Pan-Anglican Synods in 1888, 1897, 1908—referred to elsewhere in this Report—are strong in their advocacy of social reform. Nor need the Bishops who are members of the House of Lords be ashamed of their record, at least in recent years, with regard to their voices and votes on Bills dealing with social subjects. And with regard to the great body of Christian people, we may fairly claim that at least some of the driving force which has made for a better social order has come from those who believe “that each amelioration of man’s circumstances is the translation of a fragment of our Creed into action.”

64. As to this present time, the stern teaching of the war has undoubtedly had a tremendous effect in awakening the social conscience of Christians. All are resolved that the sacrifice of our best men shall not have been in vain, and that among the fruits of it must be a new and better order in which justice and friendship shall reign. All Christians are convinced that this new order is impossible apart from the principles of Christ and the power of His Spirit. We know our past failure in witness and in service; even now it is too much to say that English Christendom as a whole is prepared to work Christ’s principles out to their full conclusion or to make the sacrifices which they require. But there is a dawn of hope, and the next generation may see a better day.

CHAPTER IV

URBAN LIFE AND INDUSTRY

- (i.) Introductory.
- (ii.) The need of a new spirit in economic life.
- (iii.) The danger of acquiescence in familiar evils.
- (iv.) The treatment of human beings as "hands."
- (v.) The over-emphasis of the motive of self-interest.
- (vi.) The co-existence of poverty and riches.
- (vii.) The evil of insecurity and unemployment.
- (viii.) The antagonism between employer and employed.
- (ix.) Co-operation for public service, not competition for private gain, the true principle of industry.
- (x.) The establishment of a living wage and of adequate leisure.
- (xi.) The prevention of, and provision for, unemployment.
- (xii.) The protection of children and young persons.
- (xiii.) Association of workers and of employers.
- (xiv.) The industrial employment of women.
- (xv.) The need of a new attitude towards profits.
- (xvi.) The development of local government.
- (xvii.) Housing.
- (xviii.) The parish priest
- (xix.) Summary of conclusions.

(i.) *Introductory*

65. In the preceding chapters of this Report we have emphasised the applicability of Christian teaching to all aspects of social life; we have endeavoured to indicate the principles which, in our judgment, should inspire, not merely individual Christians, but the social institutions and conduct of a Christian community; and we have given a summary sketch of the interpretation placed upon those principles and of their practical application or partial neglect in some preceding periods of history. What we have already said in general terms we desire to repeat with special reference to the practical problems which are the subject of this chapter. Christians cannot regard any interpretation of Christianity, or any conception of economic life, which would divorce the theory or practice of industry or commerce from the ethical traditions of the Christian Church, as representing more than, at best, a temporary phase of social thought and development. It is true, of course, that the primary appeal of Christianity is to the individual conscience. But the individual is a member of a society: his faith is to be known by his works: and the expression of the Christian faith

held by individuals ought to be a society which reveals the character of its faith in its motives, its corporate life, its practical standards of conduct and its institutions. Among those institutions industry and commerce occupy a prominent place. We hold, therefore, that the teaching of Christianity is binding upon men not only in their personal and domestic conduct, but in their economic activity and industrial organisation, and that it is the duty of the Christian Church to urge that considerations of Christian morality must be applied to all such social relationships.

(ii.) *The Need of a New Spirit in Economic Life*

66. Those who accept such general considerations and turn from them to reflect upon the main features of the economic civilisation which they see around them cannot fail, we think, to feel a grave uneasiness as to some of the motives by which it is inspired, of the methods which it adopts, and of the results which it produces. We recognise, indeed, that many of the evils springing from the era of almost revolutionary economic change which, hardly more than a century ago, transformed in two generations the very fabric of social life, and laid upon a basis of coal and iron the foundations of our modern industrial system, have already been mitigated; that partly through the initiative of public-spirited individuals, partly through the growth of voluntary combinations, partly through legislation such as, to give only one example, the Factory and Workshops Acts, there has been, since the early part of the nineteenth century, a marked improvement both in the material well-being of the people and in the moral standards recognised in industry; and that it is, indeed, precisely the progress which has already taken place which affords the best hope of swifter and more extensive progress in the future. We do not underestimate the splendid qualities of skill, endurance and initiative which find expression in the existing organisation of industry, or the general confidence and mutual good faith upon which commerce depends. We do not forget that, of those engaged in industry, there are many in all classes who carry the motives of religion and a high standard of personal conduct into the practical life of labour and of business and whose example is a potent influence for good among all with whom they are brought into contact. We have endeavoured to avoid the fallacy of ascribing to any particular economic order what are the faults or deficiencies of human nature, or of allowing the incidental and exceptional features of industrial life to prejudice our judgment with regard to its normal characteristics.
67. But when every allowance has been made both for the good qualities elicited by the industrial system and for the incidental defects which are likely to be found in any system

whatever, we, nevertheless, find it impossible to resist the conclusion that, in certain fundamental respects, that system itself is gravely defective. It is defective not merely in the sense that industrial relations are embittered by faults of temper and lack of generosity on the part of the employer, of the employed, and of the general public alike, but because the system itself makes it exceedingly difficult to carry into practice the principles of Christianity. Its faults are not the accidental or occasional maladjustments of a social order the general spirit and tendency of which can be accepted as satisfactory by Christians. They are the expressions of certain deficiencies deeply rooted in the nature of that order itself. They appear in one form or another not in this place or in that, but in every country which has been touched by the spirit, and has adopted the institutions, of modern industrialism. To remove them it is necessary to be prepared for such changes as will remove the deeper causes of which they are the result.

68. We cannot, therefore, agree with the view sometimes expressed which would allow Christians to take for granted the general economic arrangements of society, and would confine their attention to supplementing incidental shortcomings and relieving individual distress, in the belief that if men will live conscientiously within the limits of established industrial arrangements, without seeking to modify them, the result will be such a society as can be approved by Christians. Nor can we accept, without large qualifications, the suggestion that the attempt to modify them is impracticable, on the ground that any other arrangement is "contrary to human nature." We recognise, indeed, that the large changes which are necessary must be carried out gradually, in a spirit of tolerance and of mutual charity and forbearance. But we think that it is precisely the general economic organisation of society which is, in some respects, defective; that the efforts of Christians should be directed not merely to attacking particular evils as they arise, but to discovering and removing the roots from which they spring, and that Christian teaching supplies a sufficient motive to make practicable any change which is right. It is not enough, therefore, merely to cope with those defects in our economic life which have become so clamorous or sensational as to attract general attention, for by the time that they are sensational they may have become almost incapable of peaceful removal. It is necessary to make such changes in the normal organisation of society as may prevent them from arising. The solution of the industrial problem involves, in short, not merely the improvement of individuals, but a fundamental change in the spirit of the industrial system itself.

(iii.) *The Danger of Acquiescence in Familiar Evils*

69. We shall endeavour, in a subsequent part of this chapter, to state the principles upon which, as we think, such a fundamental change should be based, and the direction in which it should proceed. It should aim, to anticipate briefly what we have to say later, at making the spirit of co-operation for public service the dominant motive in the organisation of industry and of social life, in place of the spirit of competition for private gain by which it tends, at the present time, to be too commonly governed. But there is a danger lest grave social evils should meet with acquiescence precisely because they are well known. Before, therefore, we approach these larger issues we would urge our readers to reflect once more upon certain aspects of modern industry which are familiar to their minds but which yet cannot be weighed too often or too seriously by the Christian conscience. We would ask them to put from them for the moment the whole body of assumptions and presuppositions as to the objects, methods and consequences of our industrial society, which habit has made a second nature, and to approach these commonplace phenomena of economic life with the detachment of observers who are introduced to them for the first time, and to whom long custom has not reconciled their strangeness, condoned their anomalies, nor blunted the edge of their injustices.

(iv.) *The Treatment of Human Beings as "Hands"*

70. (a) We would call their attention, in the first place, to the peculiar and, as we think, unjustifiable position of subordination in which many wage-earners are placed by the organisation of modern industry, except in so far as it has been modified by law or by voluntary combination. We do not allude, of course, to the mere submission of the individual to general rules and regulations, which is necessary in any common undertaking, and which is not merely compatible with liberty but is one of its indispensable conditions. What we have in mind is the position of economic inferiority in which, unless he has emancipated himself from it by concerted action with his fellows, the worker is liable to be placed by his dependence for his livelihood upon an undertaking whose general policy and organisation he is powerless, as an individual, to control, or sometimes even to influence. He is powerless to control it because he is helpless without the material equipment that capital provides, and because, if the loss of a workman is an inconvenience to the employer, the loss of employment means normally distress or even ruin to the workman. We do not desire to read more into a phrase than it contains, and we recognise that there are very wide differences between the circumstances of workers in different industries and in different parts of the country. But

we think that the common description of workers as "hands" summarises aptly an aspect of their economic position which is not the less degrading because it has hitherto met with too general acquiescence. The suggestion is that the worker is an accessory to industry rather than a partner in it; that his physical strength and manual dexterity are required to perform its operations, but that he neither has a mind which requires to be consulted as to its policy nor a personality which demands consideration; that he is a hired servant whose duty ends with implicit obedience, not a citizen of industry whose virtue is in initiative and intelligence.

71. Nor, indeed, is the evil merely a matter of words. Current phraseology reflects only too faithfully certain common features of current practice. It is true, of course, that in most firms in some industries and in some firms in most industries the workers are gradually being conceded a different status by their employers, or are winning it for themselves. In an increasing number of trades practical experience of the actual working of trade unionism is leading employers to understand the advantages of combination, and trade unionists to understand the problems and difficulties of employers. There is good hope, as we point out in section (xiii.) of this chapter, that these improved relations will form the basis of such schemes of closer co-operation as have been suggested in the Whitley Report,* and in other similar proposals. Moreover, it is right to acknowledge with appreciation the attempts which are being made by an increasing number of firms to introduce into industry more humane and intelligent relations than those of the "cash-nexus" denounced sixty years ago by Carlyle, through the development, in various forms, of what has come to be called "welfare-work." Provided such experiments are administered in a spirit, not of patronage but of equality and mutual consideration, they deserve nothing but sympathy and approval.
72. But the organised workers form a minority † of the whole working population, and something more, indeed, than organisation, as hitherto understood, is necessary if the worker is to enjoy not merely better material conditions, but an economic status of greater dignity and independence. We desire to avoid exaggeration, and we recognise that, as we have already said, the workers in certain industries are in a much stronger position than in others. We think, neverthe-

* Reconstruction Committee. Sub-Committee on Relations Between Employers and Employed. *Interim Report on Joint Standing Councils*, 1917. [Cd. 8608.]

† The total number of trade unionists in the United Kingdom in December, 1913, was given by the Board of Trade Seventeenth Abstract of Labour Statistics of the United Kingdom as 3,987,115, and on December 31st, 1917 (including 130,000 teachers) it is estimated from another source as approximately 4,950,000.

less, that it would not be unfair to say that large numbers of working people are at the present time employed on terms which suggest that they are means to the production of wealth rather than themselves the human end for whom wealth is produced. They too often have cause to feel that they are directed by an industrial autocracy, which is sometimes, indeed, both kindly and capable, but which is repugnant to them precisely because it is an autocracy, and because, in so far as it controls their means of livelihood, it also, not the less certainly because often unconsciously, controls their lives. The conditions of their work may be determined not by them, but for them, and may be determined by the financial interests of persons who are responsible neither to them nor to the community and whose primary interest may not be the welfare of the workers but the profitableness of the business. In such circumstances workers are employed when trade is active: they are dismissed when trade is slack. Piece-rates in some industries may be arranged and rearranged without their being consulted, and on no principle that they can understand. If boys are cheaper than men, men may be displaced by boys, to the ultimate disadvantage of both. Though it is happily true that in certain industries arrangements have been made by employers' associations and trade unions for obviating the displacement of labour by machinery, it is still too often the case that the livelihood of a group of workers may be abolished without compensation by the introduction of a new process or machine. Employment may be casual, as at most docks, because it would be less convenient or more expensive to employ a regular staff, and, as a result, a whole district may be demoralised; and since casual work breeds casual habits, some of those who suffer from it most may in time come even to prefer it to regular employment and oppose proposals for its diminution or abolition. The worker's pride in his craft is often destroyed by its subdivision into simple and monotonous processes, and his human interest in his work destroyed by his absence of responsibility for its permanent results. He may be employed on processes injurious to his health, or on work of a kind which is degrading because adulterated or dishonest.

78. We fully recognise the weight of impersonal economic pressure which leads to such methods of organising industry, and the frequent inability to resist it of the very individuals through whom it is exercised. We recognise also that it is by no means the case that the relations which we deprecate exist only between workmen and employers. They are found, often to an almost equal extent, between the consumer and industry as a whole, and between different classes of workmen. On the one hand, the general public, through selfishness or mere lack of thought, is only too apt to insist that its demand

for cheap and expeditious service shall be met without regard to the reaction of its requirements upon the different classes engaged in industry. On the other hand, there are industries in which it is the practice for one class of workmen to be engaged, not directly by the management, but by another class of workmen. In some such cases it has happened that the sub-contractor, who is himself a workman, has shown to the human interests and well-being of his fellow-workmen precisely the same selfish indifference as he resents when it is shown to him by his employer, and that sometimes members of a society organised to sell their own labour dear have even used their power to insist on the labour of another and more helpless class being offered to them cheap. Such facts show only too clearly that there is no one single class in the community to which alone the responsibility for social evils can justly be ascribed, and that the remedy must be one which touches the springs and tendencies of human conduct in every section of society. What is on trial is not only the shortcomings of individuals, but also the quality of a system.

74. If all classes, however, have some responsibility for these evils, it is the more necessary for all classes to do their utmost to remove them. If individuals are often helpless the need for a united effort is the greater. Industry exists for man, not man for industry, and we cannot believe in the stability of any society, however imposing its economic triumphs, if it cripples the personality of its workers or if it deprives them of that control over the material conditions of their own lives which is the essence of practical freedom. Christianity above all religions has fostered a keen sense of the value of every individual, and Christians cannot acquiesce in the undue subordination of human beings to the exigencies of any mechanical or economic system.

(v.) *The Over-Emphasis of the Motive of Self-Interest*

75. (b) The second point which we desire to emphasise is one which is connected with the tendency to allow the motive of economic self-interest excessive influence in the conduct of industry, and, indeed, in social life as a whole. We recognise, of course, that practice is often better than theory, and that the rigour of economic systems is tempered by the conscience and the kindness of individuals. But the tendency of the whole body of opinion, which assumes that, within the limits imposed by law, individuals and classes are justified in driving the best bargain for themselves which they can, is strangely at variance with the traditional ethics of Christianity, and Christians accept it too lightly when they regard it as so inevitable as to be hardly worth discussion. It may be conceded that the anticipation of large financial gains has been a powerful incentive to the

increase in productive power which has been the most conspicuous achievement of the economic development of the last century and a half, though it is also true that some of the most important economic improvements have been the work of scientists or inventors whose interest in their financial result was small. But, while it is evident that the economic stimulus of personal profit is one cause which has elicited the increased production of wealth required by the community, it is also evident that it is not by itself a guarantee that, when the interests of any group of producers are at variance with those of the public, the greater interest will be preferred to the less. Economic motives are good servants but bad masters, and the danger of a society which exalts them unduly is that it may evoke a spirit which it cannot control.

76. Few who have observed the present tendencies of industrial life would affirm with confidence that this danger is altogether negligible. The period in which competition (however undesirable some of its consequences) could plausibly be regarded as in itself offering an adequate safeguard of the interests of the consumer and of the community seems to be yielding to one in which the community is confronted by producers some of whom find their interest in close combination. While such combinations have unquestionably great potentialities of good, they may also, unless inspired by an ideal of public service, be tempted to give private interests precedence over those of society. Nor can it be said that the temptation is one which is always resisted at the present time. On the one hand, there is the fact that in some industries the output appears sometimes to be unduly limited by concerted action among certain classes of workers. On the other hand, there is the fact that concerted action between manufacturers in certain industries enables them sometimes to secure prices which are in excess of those needed to cover the cost of production and to yield a reasonable profit. We pass judgment upon the motives of the one party as little as upon those of the other, and we certainly do not desire to imply that unlimited competition is necessarily to be preferred to combination. The action of both is often, indeed, a not unnatural result of the effort to avoid the downward pressure upon profits and wages of excessive competition, of the desire to escape ruinous prices on the one hand, of the desire to avert the danger that increased production may result in the cutting of piece-rates upon the other hand. But the fact that such a collision of interests between different groups of producers and the public should arise as a natural consequence of the economic interests of the former, is an illustration of the danger of giving the motive of economic self-interest an undue pre-eminence in the control and direction of industry.

77. The function of industry is to provide the material means of a good social life. It is of high importance, therefore, that it should be conducted in the manner best calculated to achieve this end, that the most efficient machinery and organisation should be used in the production of wealth, that every section of producers should give ungrudgingly the best service of which it is capable, and that no obstacle should be interposed by private interests to deprive the community as a whole of the increasing benefits which it ought to derive from progressive improvements in the methods of production. If that condition is realised, a country reasonably endowed with natural resources is likely to acquire and retain the means of material prosperity. If that condition is not realised, it is likely to be without them. It is clearly, therefore, the duty of each class to contribute what it can to that end, and clearly wrong to impede its attainment. It has a right to fair treatment and adequate payment for its services. It has no right to anything more, or to attempt to extort more by holding the community to ransom. Such considerations are relevant to the conduct of all classes, both to organisations of workpeople and to organisations of employers. It is as unjustifiable for a group of workers to restrict the output, or to scamp their work, or, because they supply some indispensable article, to use their strong economic position to tax the community, as it is for manufacturers to do the same by combining to raise prices. Nor can such conduct be condoned merely because, in the one case as in the other, it sometimes originates as a measure of self-defence against undesirable conditions. If the conditions are such as to constitute a grievance, there is, indeed, good ground for altering them. The community should display an anxious solicitude for the welfare of all its members, and, in the event of its failing to intervene, it is obviously reasonable and necessary, under present conditions, that any class should be able to exercise the right to self-protection by using in the last resort the power which they possess of withholding their services. But measures of self-protection must not be such as needlessly to jeopardise the public welfare, which includes that of large classes unprotected by any organisation. In themselves such practices as have been mentioned above are plainly anti-social, and the public conscience should set itself against them.

78. Such a statement of principle will probably meet with general acceptance. But the growing movement towards the substitution of combination for unrestricted competition makes it specially important to emphasise it at the present time. That movement, which was visible in certain industries before the war, has received an additional impetus from the recent development of united action to meet both the difficulties of the present

emergency and the problems which will arise on the conclusion of peace. It is not necessary for us to enter into detail upon this subject, but it is a matter of common knowledge that in more than one industry plans are under discussion for eliminating or diminishing wasteful competition, and that such plans have met with favourable consideration by the Government.

79. It will be agreed, we think, that it would be very regrettable if this tendency towards closer combination between different groups of producers were to result in crushing out of existence the smaller firms, to which, though they may not occupy so conspicuous a place in the public eye as their larger competitors, the nation owes much of the elasticity and adaptability of its industrial organisation; nor, indeed, since combined action is likely in most cases to stop short of complete amalgamation, will such a result necessarily follow. In itself, the development of closer co-operation between firms which have hitherto been competitors seems to offer, apart from the obvious economies which it is likely to effect, the possibility of certain social advantages. There are few more important reforms, to give one example, than a deliberate attempt on the part of those directing industry so to regulate it as to avoid over-production, with its concomitants of overtime and excessive labour at one period, and industrial slackness, with its resulting unemployment, at another. In so far as a more exact and methodical adjustment of supply to demand is facilitated by organisation among producers, it ought to become practicable to substitute a more even and regular level of production for the fluctuations of alternate activity and depression which have hitherto been characteristic of many, if not most, of our larger industries.
80. It is evident, however, that while the growth of combinations may be beneficial in facilitating a more stable and efficient organisation of industry, it is likely to cause the relations hitherto existing between industry and the community to be considerably modified, since it may result in the consumer being faced, in some cases, with a condition of partial or complete monopoly. That fact is not a reason for discouraging combination, but for emphasising that increased power and privileges must be correlative to, and balanced by, increased obligations. It makes it peculiarly important to insist that industry is before all things a social function, and that those engaged in it ought not to seek their own advantage at the expense of the community by unduly limiting the output, raising the prices, or deteriorating the quality of the services which they offer. Faced by such combinations, what protection has the community against extortionate charges, unless public opinion in all classes recognises that the claims of society

as a whole are superior to those of any of its members and that Christian ethics require the postponement of private interests to the common good? What alternative is there to the struggle of groups for riches and advancement except their common subordination to the principle of public service?

(vi.) *The Coexistence of Poverty and Riches*

81. (c) If such considerations seem unduly theoretical to some of our readers, the same cannot be said of the extreme disparity of income which is the third point to which we desire to call their attention. The coexistence in modern society of riches and poverty is the tritest theme both of the economist and of the reformer, and we do not desire to repeat a miserable and thrice-told tale. But we would urge our fellow Christians to ask themselves once more whether an economic system which produces the striking and, as we think, excessive, inequalities of wealth which characterise our present society is one which is compatible with the spirit of Christianity or in which a Christian community ought to acquiesce.
82. There is a sense, no doubt, in which poverty has in the past been the lot of all mankind to a far greater extent than it is to-day. The earth must be conquered before it yields its material riches. Man wins his living in the sweat of his brow. There is a natural poverty arising from the niggardliness of nature which is the condition of most primitive communities. If it is no longer sought by the saint, it is borne without bitterness of spirit by the fisherman, the colonist, and the peasant. Individuals may be exceptionally unfortunate or ill-qualified by character to maintain the effort needed to secure a livelihood, but in such conditions individual suffering follows on individual deficiencies. The connection is evident and the responsibility unmistakable. Such poverty is a fact, which, like other facts, must be either endured or overcome. It is not a problem. Or, if it is a problem, the problem is the technical one of discovering the methods by which to conquer the recalcitrance of nature, not a social problem concerned with the relation of man to his fellows and with the economic organisation of society.
83. But this natural poverty is not that which is characteristic of modern industrial communities, and which we are called upon to consider in the present Report. Productive power has been greatly increased in the course of the last two centuries. But the social problem is more acute, not less acute, than when peasants tilled their own strips of land with their home-made ploughs, or wove woollen cloth in cottages with a rough hand-loom. It is, no doubt, of high importance that the production of wealth should be still further increased, by science, by organisation, by energetic and wisely directed

labour. But the mere increase of production cannot by itself offer a solution of the social problem which arises in those societies where productive power has already been increased far beyond the point which would have been believed possible by an earlier age. The problem of poverty in the modern world is, in fact, a problem not merely of the amount of wealth produced (important though that aspect of it is), but of the proportions in which it is distributed; and a mere increase in the amount, which left the proportions unaltered, would not solve that problem. It might indeed cause it to be felt even more acutely than it is at present.

84. The question to-day is not simply why nature is niggardly or why individuals fall into distress. It is why large numbers of men and women, who have not fallen into exceptional distress, derive a meagre and precarious livelihood from industries which appear to yield another and a smaller number considerable affluence. The evil of poverty, in short, is not merely that many have too little for a life worthy of man. It is that many have too little, while others have too much. It is, of course, precisely because the social problem is not simply one of increasing productive power, but of distributing in accordance with principles of right the wealth which is produced, that its solution makes an urgent appeal to the Christian conscience. For Christianity is concerned very little with teaching men to be rich. It is concerned very much with teaching them to be just.
85. We do not propose to enter in detail into an account of the actual distribution of wealth which existed in Great Britain before the war, and which will exist again, it is to be presumed, after the war, unless deliberate action is taken to alter it. But we would point out that though statisticians differ from each other in detail, their conclusions tend on the whole to corroborate* the common opinion that it was characterised by great disparity of income. The evidence is, in some respects, imperfect; the facts vary to some extent from year to year; and of course all existing standards have been temporarily revolutionised by the present crisis. But we do not think that the general impression of extreme social inequality can be

* See *Report from the Select Committee on Income Tax*, 1906, pp. xxii.-xxiii., and evidence of Messrs. Bowley, Coghlan, Chiozza Money and Sir Henry Primrose; also Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*, 1905 (Methuen). The latter, which has been generally accepted as presenting a picture correct in its main outlines, though open to criticism in detail, estimated that out of a total national income which was then about £1,710,000,000, persons with less than £160 per year, numbering with their families 38,000,000, received £880,000,000; persons with incomes between £160 and £700, numbering with their families 3,750,000, received £245,000,000; persons with incomes of £700 per year and upwards, numbering with their families 1,250,000, received £585,000,000.

seriously contested. It is, indeed, visible to all eyes for which long familiarity has not blurred its significance with the neutral tint of custom, and is confirmed by such statistics as are available.

86. The most extensive inquiry ever made into earnings and hours of labour in different industries in Great Britain was that conducted by the Board of Trade in 1906. The figures then obtained were in some respects, no doubt, incomplete, and since they were published circumstances have widely changed, both before and during the war. In view of the assistance which exact information can give to the formation of a wise judgment upon social questions, it is important that such information should be regularly placed at the disposal of the public, and we think that the Department concerned might well enlist in that task the co-operation of the Industrial Councils suggested later in this chapter. While, however, particular items in the Report of the Enquiry of 1906 may be questioned, the figures supplied by it have been generally accepted by competent authorities as giving, on the whole, a reliable picture of the conditions obtaining at the period to which they refer. The average wages in certain staple industries in 1906 were stated in that Report * to be as follow :

	Average wages of Adult Males in one representative week of 1906 or 1907.		Percentage getting less than 30s. per week.
	s.	d.	
Cotton	29	6	59·7
Woollen and worsted	26	10	67·4
Tailoring (bespoke)	33	6	46·1
Boot and shoe	28	8	58·9
Building trades	33	0	37·1
Public utility services	28	1	61·7
Metal engineering and shipbuilding	33	11	41·0
Railways (other than electric)	26	8	71·5

	Average Wages of Adult Women over 18 in one week of September, 1906.		Percentage getting less than 20s. per week.
	s.	d.	
Cotton	18	8	59·3
Woollen and worsted	13	10	91·0
Linen	10	9	99·3
Dress and millinery (workshop)	13	10	85·3
Shirts, underclothing, etc.	13	4	91·7
Tailoring (ready-made)	12	11	93·1
Laundry (factory)	12	10	93·6

* Board of Trade Report of Enquiry into the Earnings and Hours of Labour of Workpeople of the United Kingdom : I., *Textile Trades* in 1906

87. We do not suggest, of course, that these statistics give an accurate picture of the situation that exists in 1918. Since they were published both money-wages and prices have risen. We quote them as the most reliable official accounts of the economic position of the working classes in the decade preceding the war. They indicate the normal social conditions of our age and country, which the subsequent sudden revolution in economic standards makes it more important, rather than less important, to remember. What they show is that in each of eight staple industries more than one-third of the adult male workers were earning less than 30s. per week, that in two great industries the proportion earning less than 30s. was over two-thirds, and in three others more than one-half. To put it otherwise, if these earnings had been maintained for every week throughout the year, the average yearly income of adult men in the best paid of these eight industries would have been between £88 and £89, the average yearly earnings of adult men in the worst paid would have been between £69 and £70. It is, of course, perfectly true that some workers in each industry, and many workers in some industries, were earning considerably above the average. But that fact itself shows that many other workers must have been obtaining extremely low earnings in order to reduce the averages to the figures given above. And, of course, to calculate the yearly income on the basis of these figures would give an unduly optimistic impression. Some addition to them, it is true, must be made for the extra earnings of overtime. But that fact is more than counterbalanced by the deductions which must be made for short time, sickness, and unemployment.
88. These figures do not stand alone. They are supplemented and corroborated by the later and more detailed researches of private investigators. We need not allude to the works of Mr. Booth or Mr. Rowntree, which laid the foundation of all subsequent inquiries, but which are now, perhaps, no longer up-to-date. But we would refer our readers to the exhaustive account of the economic position of the working classes in four English towns given by the well-known statistician, Dr. Bowley, in his book, *Livelihood and Poverty*.^{*} As the facts described

(1909) [Cd. 4545]; II., *Clothing Trades in 1906* (1909) [Cd. 4844]; III., *Building and Woodworking Trades in 1906* (1910) [Cd. 5086]; IV., *Public Utility Services in 1906* (1910) [Cd. 5196]; VI., *Metal, Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades in 1906* (1911) [Cd. 5814]; VII., *Railway Service in 1907* (1912) [Cd. 6053].

^{*} Bowley and Burnett-Hurst, *Livelihood and Poverty*. 1915. (Bell). This work shows:—

(a) That of all the adult male workers in these four towns (Northampton, Warrington, Reading and Stanley), considered as a unit, 32 per cent., or

were collected in 1912 and 1918, the work offers the most precise and authoritative picture of the social conditions of four towns, differing in size, in economic character, and in geographical position, on the eve of the war.

89. It is sometimes suggested that the wages of an adult workman are normally sufficient to bring up his family in decency, that the causes which bring men into poverty are within their own control, and that the children of the working classes have as good a chance of a life of independence and health as have those of the well-to-do. The evidence* of Dr. Bowley's inquiries, which is in agreement with that collected in 1899 by Mr. Rowntree for the City of York, indicates that these suggestions are at variance with the facts. As far as it extends, what it proves is that in four towns taken together just under *one-third* of the working classes—32 per cent.—were earning prior to the war less than 24s. per week, that between *one-sixth* and *one-seventh*—16 per cent.—of the persons in working-class households, in one town *more than a quarter*—or 29 per cent.—were in receipt of an income so low as to be insufficient to provide the necessaries of healthy physical existence, that by far the most important single cause of poverty was low wages, and that about a quarter of all working-class children—27 per cent.—were living in households below what is commonly called "the poverty line."
90. Poverty such as this is imperfectly apprehended if it is considered only in terms of money. It should be interpreted in terms of health and sickness, house-room and overcrowding,

almost exactly one-third, were earning less than 24s. per week, irrespective of any deduction caused by sickness or unemployment.

(b) That of all the working-class households in these towns 13½ per cent., and of all the persons in those households 16 per cent., were living in a condition of primary poverty (*i.e.*, of poverty caused by an income so low as to be insufficient to provide the necessaries of healthy physical existence, assuming the whole of it to be spent in the most economical manner, and upon necessaries alone).

(c) That in the case of the households living in poverty the cause of their poverty was to be found in the death of the chief wage earner in 14 per cent., in his illness or age in 11 per cent., in his unemployment in 2 per cent., in the irregularity of his work in 2 per cent., *in the fact that his income was insufficient for his family of three children or less in 26 per cent.*, in the fact that his income was insufficient for his family of four children or more in 45 per cent.

(d) That 27 per cent. of all the children in these towns (*in one town 47 per cent. of the school children and 45 per cent. of the infants*) were living in households which failed to reach the low standard taken as necessary for healthy physical existence.

* It is not, of course, conclusive as to the conditions in England as a whole, since it omits the textile towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire on the one hand, where wages are relatively high, London, where there is much casual labour, and the rural districts in which wages are lowest. But it includes two towns (Northampton and West Stanley) in which wages are relatively high and labour is strongly organised in trade unions.

education and ignorance, happiness and endless mental anxiety, life and death. It means that of the children born into the world 110 per thousand die, on the average, under one year of age,* over 200 per thousand in some districts, partly because of poverty and of the conditions which poverty creates. It means that thousands of working-class parents pay nearly one-fifth of their income in rent, and then cannot obtain the house-room needed for health and decency. It means that women work who should be at home and children work who should be at school. It means that many working-class families after years of labour have not the savings to meet a month of sickness or unemployment, cannot afford to take a holiday, to visit a relative, or to buy books, and fear nothing so much as the loss of employment which will cause their low earnings to cease altogether.

91. Such persons continue to exist, it is true, and bring up families who will continue to exist also. They exist. But do they live? Yet if they are condemned to struggle with unending poverty, it is not that society does not possess the means of producing the necessities which they are without. For before the war cut short wasteful expenditure, part at least of the productive power of the nation was applied to satisfying wants which, if harmless, were not always indispensable to a good life, and which were catered for because the effective demand for commodities of one income of £10,000 counts as much in the market as the effective demand of one hundred incomes of £100. Is there not some grave error of distribution when the normal lot of many hundred thousand families of independent and industrious citizens, the men who have saved England in the field and the factory, the men who, indeed, *are* England, is one of constant poverty in spite of constant labour?
92. It may be said, indeed, that the aggregate national income is still relatively small, and amounts per family to an average income which, though in excess of that now received by most working-class families, would seem to many insignificant. But the answer is unconvincing as a plea against diminishing the disparity of wealth. If the nation's total income is small, all the less can the community tolerate extreme inequality in its distribution. If the nation's productive power is limited, all the more essential is it that it should not be diverted to the

* Average of years 1911-14, inclusive. The average infantile mortality rate per 1,000 born in the five worst districts during the years 1911-1914, was as follows: Burnley, 172; Ashton-under-Lyne, 169; Farnworth, 168; Stalybridge, 166; Stoke-on-Trent, 161. (Local Government Board Forty-Fifth Annual Report, 1915-16. Supplement in Continuance of the Report of the Medical Officer of the Board for 1915-16, containing a Report on Child Mortality at Ages 0-5, in England and Wales, 1916 [Cd. 8496].)

provision of luxuries, before it has been used to supply the material conditions of a good life to the whole population.

(vii.) *The Evil of Insecurity and Unemployment*

93. (d) The poverty which is caused by low wages, serious as it is, would be less intolerable if those wages were regular, and could be earned month by month and year by year with approximate certainty. In fact, however, the earnings of large numbers of workers are not only low but insecure, and their livelihood is precarious and uncertain. In modern society the individual worker is normally unable to earn a living without access to plant and material which do not belong to him. He is, therefore, in the position of a tenant-at-will whose continued employment depends upon his services continuing to be desired by the person, usually the *persona ficta* of a company, who employs him. Hence it is inevitable that his position should be, and should be felt to be, one of greater precariousness than that of an owner of property, who even if he is equally poor, is not to the same extent dependent for his livelihood upon the convenience, good will, or solvency of some one else. Cases in which the worker loses his employment through some comparatively trivial or unjustifiable cause, a quarrel with a foreman, an indiscretion or blunder, a reputation for being an "agitator," may not be common. But they certainly occur, especially in the trades where trade unionism is feeble or non-existent, and the fact that they occur creates a spirit which is not compatible with mutual confidence, nor with social freedom, nor with industrial efficiency. Such insecurity of tenure is not merely a material evil; it is a moral grievance. It causes men to feel that they are not fully masters of themselves, and that they live at the will of another person, who may act towards them in an arbitrary manner.

94. But individual cases of arbitrary dismissal are comparatively rare, we believe, in the organised industries, and are only a minor aspect of the problem arising from the precariousness of the worker's position. A graver practical evil is the heavy burden which the irregularity of industry itself imposes upon them.

The facts of the problem of unemployment have been more thoroughly investigated than have those of any other social problem, and it is not necessary for us to do more than refer our readers to the standard works upon the subject.* We need only point out that in almost all industries at some time, and in some industries at almost all times, there is a margin of unemployed workers who not only undergo, in the persons of

* In particular the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress, 1909, *Majority Report* (Vols. I. and II.), *Minority Report* (Vol. III.); Beveridge, *Unemployment*, 1909 (Longmans); Mess, *Casual Labour at the Docks*, 1916 (Bell).

themselves and their families, severe physical privations and acute mental suffering, but who drag down the whole standard of life of their fellows. The percentage* of unemployed trade unionists offers some indication of the larger fluctuations of employment in the decade before the war. But those general figures, though a valuable measurement of the cyclical increase and decrease of unemployment, are no adequate measure of its volume. Not only is there the fact that the abnormally acute unemployment in certain industries, rising sometimes to 15 to 20 per cent., is concealed in the general total of all industries making returns, and that the short time which takes the place of unemployment in some others is not revealed by these figures at all. There is also the fact that even in normal years the workers in some trades—for example, building—undergo a long period of seasonal unemployment. Most significant of all these is the prevalence in certain industries of a type of organisation which makes regular employment the exception rather than the rule, because it reposes upon a basis of casually employed labour.

95. In nearly all large ports, to give only one example, unemployment is not occasional, it is chronic; for the methods of engagement and organisation are such that, instead of the workers being employed regularly, the work to be done is distributed over a large number of men, of whom a considerable proportion obtain only from one to four days' work a week. "B. is about sixty, and gets very little work. He gets up at five, and goes all over the place in search of it; he comes home dead tired and cries. I tell him sometimes to give up looking for work, but he says that would look as if he were lazy." This picture of the day of a casual labourer, given by his wife, is only too true a description of the misery of thousands of men. When such casual employment exists upon the scale in which it is found in London and Liverpool, what it means is that whole populations live permanently in a state of semi-starvation, that thousands of men are demoralised because it is impossible for them to know where they will obtain work to-morrow, or whether they will obtain it at all, that married women and young persons work long hours for miserable wages, in order to

* The figures are as follows :—

Year.	Percentage.	Year.	Percentage.
1904	6.0	1909	7.7
1905	5.0	1910	4.7
1906	3.6	1911	3.0
1907	3.7	1912	3.2
1908	7.8	1913	2.1

(Board of Trade Seventeenth Abstract of Labour Statistics of the United Kingdom, 1915 [Cd. 7733].)

supplement* the irregular earnings of their husbands and fathers, that wages are reduced by the merciless competition for employment, and that permanent combination is made difficult because employment itself is without permanence. The picture is not overdrawn. It can be corroborated from the official reports of the Poor Law Commissioners, or from the works of private inquirers. The facts are well known. They are shameful. And, on the whole, apart from certain minor changes, they are still what they were when attention was first called to them.† An organisation of industry which allows men who are capable of working and willing to work to be deprived of adequate means of livelihood through no fault of their own is contrary to the first principles of justice, and is therefore contrary to the principles of Christianity.

(viii.) *The Antagonism between Employer and Employed*

96. (e) We have deferred to the last a reference to the subject of industrial disputes, which occupies almost the most prominent place in such public attention as is given to social questions, because we believe that it can be considered with advantage only after a review of the conditions which form the soil whence disputes spring and the atmosphere in which they are conducted. The prevalence‡ of an attitude of mutual antagonism and suspicion between the different parties engaged in industry, though qualified by the cordial relations which exist in more than a few instances, is, no doubt, a serious matter from the point of view of the community. It involves material loss and moral bitterness. Like war itself, industrial disputes inflict almost as much suffering upon non-combatants and neutrals as upon the parties to them.
97. It is not through any lack of appreciation of the grave issues

* For the connection of married women's work and casual labour see Howarth and Wilson, *West Ham*, 1907 (Dent), and Vesselitsky, *The Home-worker and Her Outlook*, 1916 (Bell).

† As long ago as 1887 Miss Beatrice Potter (now Mrs. Sidney Webb) described the struggle for work at the London Docks. See also the *Reports of the Labour Commission of 1891*. The last writer on the subject, Mr. Mess (1916), says: "As one reads the indictment brought against the system of dock labour twenty-five years ago, one realises sadly that most of it stands to-day. And in 1889 it was already hackneyed." (Mess, *op. cit.*)

‡

Year.	Number of disputes begin- ning each year.	Aggregate duration in working days each year.
1910	531	9,894,831
1911	903	10,319,591
1912	857	40,914,675a
1913	1,497	11,630,732

a30,000,000 due to coal strike.

(Board of Trade Report on Strikes and Lock-Outs and on Conciliation and Arbitration Boards in the United Kingdom in 1913 (1914) [Cd. 7658].)

involved that we say that to give industrial disputes the position of prominence sometimes given them in discussions of social questions is to view the problem in a false perspective. It is normally unprofitable to blame either of the two parties concerned. The whole community shares their responsibility. On the one hand, it is responsible for the continuance of the conditions which help to produce disputes. On the other hand, it has hitherto accepted the conception of industrial life as a struggle in which each individual or group is justified in taking what can be obtained by persuasion or threats. As long as those conditions continue and that conception is dominant, it is, in our opinion, idle to anticipate that disputes will not occur. It may, indeed, be said that industrial disputes are a form of war, that peace is one of the highest of public interests, and that therefore the parties concerned should subordinate their interests to those of the community. But though combatants may be willing to give way to a principle or cause superior to them both, it is not reasonable to expect them to give way to each other, and it is precisely that common principle of public service which, as we have already suggested, receives in modern industry no emphasis sufficiently obvious and unmistakable to make it of cogent authority.

98. On one aspect of industrial disputes there is, indeed, no room for indecision. It is true, of course, that the methods by which disputes are settled will differ from industry to industry, and we offer at this point no opinion as to the proper machinery or procedure which should be adopted for the purpose of ratifying agreements. But it is obvious that agreements once entered upon must be regarded as binding for the period for which they were made. The strict observance of obligations by contracting parties is one of the moral foundations of human society, and that principle is as absolute when the contracting parties are associations as it is when they are individuals. Moreover, it is one which is of great importance to the vitality and development of the whole system of settling industrial conditions by negotiation between associations of employers and trade unions. The growth of collective bargaining, with the apparatus of representative institutions on which it reposes, is one of the most striking examples of the practical political genius of the ordinary citizens of our nation. It has served them as a school in the art of self-government. It has probably contributed more than any other development of the last half-century to raising both the economic position and the social independence of the working classes, and to the elimination or expeditious settlement of the minor causes of industrial friction, which, without such representative machinery, might have developed into serious disputes. Few changes would contribute more

to social progress than the extension of the practice of the organised industries to those which are unorganised, and which still include the greater number of workers.

99. It is evident, however, that the possibility of collective bargaining reposes, to a peculiar degree, upon the good faith of those who take part in it. Its further progress, and indeed its very existence, depends upon the willingness of both parties to abide by the terms of the agreements which they have made, and to secure the observance of them by all the members of the associations to which they belong. There is no use in entering upon negotiations if the resulting settlement is liable, before it expires, to be jettisoned by those who are dissatisfied with it, and anything which undermines the observance of agreements undermines also the whole principle of the adjustment of industrial questions by the collective action of employers and workers, of which binding agreements are one result. It is probable, indeed, that in the vast majority of cases the terms settled by negotiation are honourably observed by the parties whom they concern, and it is, of course, true that disputes may arise over the interpretation of the best drafted agreement, which must not be confused with the repudiation of the agreement itself. But instances of such repudiation have occurred, and have occurred on a scale too conspicuous to allow of their being waved aside as insignificant. It is, we think, essential that the public opinion of employers, of workers, and of the whole community, should make it plain that it regards the departure from the terms of a settlement, during the currency of the period for which the settlement was made, as the grave offence against society which it is, and that the organisation concerned, whether of employers or of workers, should dissociate itself formally from any member who may be guilty of such conduct.

100. But agreements are made for a period which, whether long or short, is limited. When that period has elapsed, it is not sufficient to suggest, as a condition of industrial peace, the maintenance of the *status quo*, or reasonable to blame the party which disturbs it as wantonly initiating industrial war. Whether it is desirable to maintain existing conditions depends upon what the actual nature of those conditions is. Apart from the minor and perhaps unavoidable cases of friction, industrial disputes are not rightly understood when they are regarded as isolated outbursts. They must be considered in relation to their background, and judged with reference to the events which precede and follow them. To large numbers of working people their present position in industry seems degrading and unjust. Looking back on such progress as they have achieved in the course of the past half century, it appears to them that the principal instrument in securing

it has been organised pressure. Looking forward, they believe that their ability to secure attention for their demands for better conditions of life and labour will be proportionate to the vigour with which they are able to support them. They are not unaware of the waste involved in a prolonged cessation of work or of the sufferings which they inflict upon themselves, their families and the community. But they regard them as incidents in a prolonged campaign, and believe that unless the community is prepared itself to secure an adequate standard of life for all its citizens, then different groups of citizens are justified in endeavouring to secure it for themselves, even at the cost of inflicting temporary loss upon the community.

101. It is this background of suspicion and dissatisfaction which must be borne in mind if a reasonable judgment is to be formed of the best way in which to work for better relations in industry. That all agreements are binding for the period for which they were made, that all parties to disputes ought to show a reasonable and accommodating spirit, and that they should consider the interests of the whole society as well as of themselves—these truths are fundamental and cannot be too often emphasised. But society can make them effective as counsels of industrial peace only if it also makes it evident that all parties can secure consideration for their reasonable claims without industrial war. Bunyan's parable of the broom which raised the dust and the water which laid it is one which the public should lay to heart. If disputes become less frequent and less bitter in the future, they will be diminished not through exhortations, or menaces, or denunciations, still less through attempts directly to prohibit them, but through the growth of a spirit of co-operation and of social service, and through the removal of the industrial conditions which at present foster industrial unrest.

(ix.) *Co-operation for Public Service, not Competition for Private Gain, the True Principle of Industry*

102. In a preceding part of this chapter we said that what is required if social life is to be raised to a higher level is not merely the improvement of individuals, but a fundamental change in the spirit of the industrial system itself. The reader who reflects, in the light of Christian teaching, upon the facts and tendencies of which we have given a summary description will be disposed, we think, to agree with us that, though detailed readjustments are desirable, they are not by themselves sufficient. It is necessary that the system itself should be inspired by a nobler ideal, that it should be judged more rigorously by Christian standards, and that it should move upon a different and higher plane. Certain accepted traditions and practices must be modified, certain others must be discarded

altogether, and certain permanent spiritual laws, which are too generally disregarded, must receive more effective recognition.

103. To the question in what direction such a change should proceed, we would answer that it must be based upon a fuller acceptance of two principles. The first is that industry is a social function, and is carried on to serve the community. The second is that the relations between the different parties engaged in it should be determined by considerations of right and justice, not merely by economic expediency or economic power. An industry, when all is said, is based upon the association of men to obtain a livelihood by providing society with some service which it requires. Whether its organisation is simple or complex, whether it consists of peasants ploughing their own fields, or of craftsmen labouring with hammer and chisel, or of armies of mechanics aided by machines which are miracles of scientific invention, its function is service, its method is association. Its relation to the community should, therefore, be one of subordination to public needs, and it realises its purpose in proportion as those engaged in it do not endeavour merely to obtain the most advantageous terms for themselves, but take a pride in providing the best and most economical service which they are capable of rendering. Its internal organisation should make some appeal to the spirit of brotherhood and be determined by moral principles, not merely by considerations of economic convenience or by the immediate self-interest of its members. It should, in short, be *social* in purpose and *co-operative* in spirit.
104. Such a conception of the place of industry in society is one which would meet with the approval of all thoughtful and public-spirited members of the community. It is not a novelty which requires to be supported by elaborate arguments. It is a truism, the validity of which men already recognise in the inner *forum* of their conscience, a standard to which they already feel allegiance in their hearts, and which only requires to be publicly unfolded for them to rally round it in increasing numbers, and to make it supreme in their social life. They desire a more visible brotherhood, a life of more disinterested service, and the desire is not confined to those who suffer most from the practical effect of social disorders, but is found in all classes of society. But if the conception of social service as the inspiration and guide of economic activity is to be realised in practice, there must be, as we have said, a fundamental change in the spirit of the industrial system. For though it is true that this conception influences the conduct of individuals, it would be idle to pretend that it finds at the present time any adequate expression in the actual organisation of industry.

105. What impedes its fuller realisation is not simply the inevitable shortcomings of individuals but the too common acceptance by all classes of an attitude towards economic life which we regard as radically unsound and unchristian. The principle of co-operative service has to contend with a rival principle, which too often overpowers it. That rival is the idea that the end of industry is the personal profit of those by whom it is carried on, that the measure of its success is the financial return which it yields them, and that, provided they do not infringe the law, any method of organisation or economic policy by which that return is increased possesses, at any rate, a *prima facie* justification. We recognise, of course, that there are in all classes men whose primary interest is the efficient discharge of the service which they have undertaken, and who, if they attach a high importance to pecuniary profit, do so mainly because, in the existing circumstances of industry, it is the most obvious and unmistakable evidence that they have not failed in their undertaking. But it cannot, we think, be disputed that the prevalent tendency is to underestimate the aspect of industry as a service, and to encourage unduly the competitive spirit which, in the excessive importance which it attaches to private gains, does not weigh, as it should, the social cost at which such gains are often obtained. Those who would gladly pursue a higher ideal are often powerless in the face of an environment from which they cannot escape, and are compelled, in spite of themselves, to conform with the standards set up by the too common and too influential view of industry, which conceives of it not as a social function, but as an enterprise conducted for the personal advantage of private individuals and as needing no higher credentials than the pecuniary returns which it offers them. That assumption is not confined to any particular social class, and, as long as it is general or even common, it must make any considerable step in social progress exceedingly difficult. For, in so far as it is not checked by other considerations, it makes industrial life the sphere of a struggle for personal gain, too often of a struggle against unending and degrading poverty; it opposes the barrier of economic self-interest to the claims of the community and of the Christian conscience; and it causes the influence of financial standards to spread from industry into the general atmosphere of social and political life.
106. We cannot believe that what is at best a too exclusive concentration upon material gain, and at worst a selfish individualism, can be the last word of man's social development, or that the inevitable consequence of economic progress must be the excessive predominance in society of economic motives which exists to-day. The purpose of industry, which is the conquest of nature by skill and science and enterprise for the

service of man, is fundamentally a noble one. Its spirit should be as noble. It should be one of co-operation rather than of intense and sometimes embittered rivalry. It should find room in the qualities which it demands for something of the chivalrous self-sacrifice of the soldier, of the disinterested devotion of the scientist, or doctor, or administrator, of the temper of loyalty and mutual confidence which springs from a life of corporate endeavour and achievement, and should appeal at once to the artistic faculties of the craftsman and to the statesmanship of the organiser. We cannot doubt that such qualities exist in abundance in the world of business and labour, and that if they do not set its tone and guide its organisation, it is not because they are uncommon, but because the economic environment allows them too little opportunity of expression. All work which is necessary is equally honourable. We believe that, just as men honour in the statesman or soldier not the title or the decoration, but self-sacrificing labour and devotion to duty, so they are prepared to honour in the merchant, or the workman, or the organiser of industry, not the riches which prove that they have outstripped their rivals in the struggle for advancement, but work honestly performed, and difficulties skilfully overcome, and the disinterested service of the community which can be rendered as fully and faithfully in industry and commerce as in any other department of human activity.

107. That the true life of man is the life of brotherhood, not of strife; that the true wealth of a body politic consists in the persons composing it, to whom the use of all forms of property should be subservient; that industry rightly conceived is a social service, not a selfish competitive struggle; that all men who labour have the right to live honourably by their labour, and all men the duty to labour in order to live; that there is no moral justification for the burden upon the community of the idle or self-indulgent, or for social institutions which encourage them; that the resources of a Christian community must be used to provide necessities for all, before they are applied to providing luxuries for a few; these truths we hold for self-evident, and we believe that the economic life of a Christian society must be based upon them.

108. We are concerned in this Report with principles rather than with programmes, and it is obviously impossible for us to enter upon an exhaustive discussion of specific measures of reform. But in order to indicate the direction in which, as it seems to us, a Christian community should move, we proceed to state certain practical conclusions which, we think, may be deduced from these principles, and some of the particular changes in our industrial system which may reasonably be supported by those who are anxious that the social life of our nation should be inspired more deeply by the teaching of Christianity.

(x.) *The Establishment of a Living Wage and of Adequate Leisure*

109. (a) In the first place, then, the whole body of economic tradition and practice which permits industry to repose upon a human foundation of workers who are underpaid, over-worked, or casually employed, the whole conception of society which tolerates as normal and inevitable the co-existence of riches and widespread poverty, instead of regarding it as the shameful denial of Christian brotherhood which it is, must be renounced by Christians and abandoned by the community. We think that it is the duty of the nation to take without delay such steps as may be necessary in order to secure a full living wage and reasonable hours of labour to all workers in industry, and that it is the duty of Christian men and women to press for the establishment of such conditions by all means in their power. By a living wage we mean not merely a wage which is sufficient for physical existence, but a wage adequate to maintain the worker, his wife and family in health and honour, and to enable him to dispense with the subsidiary earnings of his children up to the age of sixteen years. By reasonable hours we mean hours sufficiently short not merely to leave him unexhausted, but to allow him sufficient leisure and energy for home life, for recreation, for the development through study of his mind and spirit, and for participation in the affairs of the community.
110. We hold that the payment of such a wage in return for such hours of work ought to be the first charge upon every industry. We are aware, indeed, that it is sometimes objected that there are industries in which it is not practicable to establish such conditions of payment and labour without damaging their prosperity or checking their expansion. It is true, of course, that in industries in which wages are already relatively high, or in which the expenses of production consist almost entirely of wages, an increase in wages may, temporarily at least, result in increasing prices, with the effect of lowering the real wages of other classes of workers. But we are concerned in this section of our Report with those workers whose earnings are barely above the level, or even below the level, needed to maintain them in health and efficiency; and in the case of such workers the objection that any improvement in working conditions must inevitably, or probably, increase the cost of production is supported, we think, neither by practical experience nor by economic theory. On the one hand, wages have been raised in a large number of industries through the pressure of trade unionism, and in a smaller number of industries by the Trade Boards described below, without any disastrous reactions upon the industrial prosperity of the country. On the other hand, it is not true that low wages or

excessive hours necessarily, or even probably, imply a low cost of production, or that the cost of production, which depends on numerous factors of organisation, machinery, and human efficiency, is necessarily raised when wages are increased or hours are reduced.* The teaching of principle is in this matter supported by the teaching of experience, and the burden of proof is upon those who argue that industry cannot afford to offer adequate wages and reasonable hours to the workers, not upon those who urge that such conditions are one element, and a not unimportant element, in industrial efficiency. If, prior to the war, a large number of workers were underpaid and overworked, the reason was not the economic impossibility of establishing proper conditions of labour, but the fact that the community had not taken the steps needed to secure that such conditions were established.

111. The only body of adult men whose hours are limited by law is the miners, in the case of whom they are 48 hours per week for underground workers and 54 per week for surface workers. The hours of adult women and of young persons under 18 are limited by the Factory and Workshops Acts to 55½ per week in textile factories and 60 in non-textile factories and workshops. The legal maximum working week for young persons in shops is 74 hours. For considerable numbers of women and young persons, for example those employed as clerks or in the transport industry, and for all adult men, except miners, there is at present no legal limitation of the working week. We think that the time has come when the whole subject of factory and workshops legislation might well be reviewed with the object of extending the protection of the law to those classes of workers who are at present without it, of establishing so far as is practicable and with due allowance for the varying conditions of different industries, a normal working week of 48 hours, and, in particular, of reducing the hours of young persons between 14 and 18 who are at present liable to be gravely injured by working for hours beyond their strength.
112. At the same time, it is necessary that steps should be taken to raise the wages of the more poorly paid workers. To indicate upon what lines such steps should proceed, we would refer our readers to the experience derived from the administration of the Trade Boards Act of 1909. Under that Act Trade Boards consisting of representatives of employers, representatives of the employed, and of members nominated

* On the relation of wages to the cost of production see *Oregon Minimum Wage Cases*, by Felix Frankfurter and Josephine Goldmark, reprinted by the National Consumers' League, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City, U.S.A. On the relation of hours to output see *Health of Munition Workers' Committee Memos* 5, 7 and 18, and Goldmark, *Fatigue and Efficiency*. 1918. (Russell Sage Foundation, New York).

by the Ministry of Labour, have been set up, with the function of fixing minimum rates in certain industries, which, after due notice has been given, have the force of law, and the payment of which is enforced by officers of the Board. Such Trade Boards* have now been established in eight industries in England, and five in Ireland, and their number is likely, we understand, to be considerably increased in the near future. They have played an important part in stimulating and giving practical effect to the public opinion of the trades in which they are established, and have enabled the higher standards of certain districts to raise the lower standards of others. They have largely increased the earnings of a large number of poorly paid workers, with the approval both of those employed and of the majority of employers. By establishing a minimum below which wages cannot be driven, they have enabled workers who previously were too poor or too helpless to organise to protect themselves by combination, and to obtain by trade unionism rates considerably above the minimum fixed by the Boards.

113. The practical demonstration thus given of the possibility of raising wages by public intervention, without any undesirable economic reactions, and of enforcing the minimum fixed by the Board, appears to us to be of the utmost importance. We think that such Boards should be established in all industries in which the workers are not efficiently organised or in which they are not receiving a full living wage; that they should have power to fix minimum rates of payment and maximum hours of labour, and such other conditions of employment as it may from time to time appear desirable to them to regulate; and that the minimum wages, maximum hours and other conditions thus fixed should be enforced by law. Overtime and Sunday labour, in particular, should be reduced to the minimum. The wrong which is done through the underpayment and overwork of large numbers of the more helpless members of the community is grave, of long continuance and unmistakable. The methods by which it can be prevented are known, and have been tested by experience. We think that Christian men and women ought to urge upon the community their immediate and progressive application.

* The following Trade Boards are now (July, 1918) in existence :—The Chain Trade Board, the Machine-made Lace and Net-finishing Trade Board, the Paper Box Trade Board (Great Britain), the Paper Box Trade Board (Ireland), the Tailoring Trade Board (Great Britain), the Tailoring Trade Board (Ireland), the Sugar, Confectionery and Food Preserving Trade Board (Great Britain), the Sugar, Confectionery and Food Preserving Trade Board (Ireland), the Shirt-making Trade Board (Great Britain), the Shirt-making Trade Board (Ireland), the Tin Box Trade Board, the Hollow-ware Trade Board, the Embroidery Trade Board (Ireland).

(xi.) *The Prevention of and Provision for Unemployment*

114. The principle of the living wage involves not only adequate payment during employment, but continuity of employment. In the second place, therefore, we desire to express our conviction that it is the duty of Christians to cope, by all means in their power, with the problem of unemployment. Their first aim must be to prevent its occurrence, their second to make the adequate maintenance of the unemployed part of the normal provision of all industries which suffer from unemployment. Unemployment in more than one form is, as we have already pointed out, a normal feature of our industrial system. Though for the moment it has been thrust out of sight by the emergency created by the war, the causes which have created it in the past, unless they can be removed, will continue to create it in the future. Young persons will drift from "blind alley" occupations into irregular or casual employment. Adult men will be displaced by the introduction of machinery or of new processes. In certain industries and districts chronic casual labour will, unless deliberately prevented, continue, as it has done hitherto, to degrade whole populations. In the future, as in the past, most industries will go through a period of seasonal unemployment. In the future, as in the past, widespread unemployment will be created in a large number of different industries by the periodical depressions which have occurred at intervals of years since the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and of which the last culminated in 1909.
115. An evil which has several different aspects must be attacked from several different sides. We refer below* to the subject of what has been called "blind alley" employment, and we need not here do more than point out the paramount importance of so organising industry that all young persons, before they reach the age of manhood, should receive the training needed to qualify them for a life of regular employment. A more important, though still a minor, phase of the problem is that created by the introduction of machinery and new processes. The individuals affected may not at any one time be large, but the material distress and mental suffering of the specialised worker who sees his livelihood taken from him, and himself and his family ruined, through a cause which he cannot control, are often acute, and we think they are considered too lightly when they are regarded as inevitable incidents in economic development. Industrial changes must, of course, be made. But the path of economic progress ought not to be strewn with innocent victims. The worker who has given his life to a trade has acquired a vested interest, which ought, in the

* See Section (xii.) of this chapter.

name of humanity, to be respected. In certain industries, for example, some branches of the printing trade, that principle has already received practical recognition, in the form of agreements between the employers' association and the trade union concerned as to the conditions upon which machinery is to be introduced and the provision to be made for workers affected by it. Such arrangements are obviously just, and it is highly desirable that they should be widely extended. We think, indeed, that there is a strong obligation on all who organise industry to take such steps, whether by shortening hours, or by rearranging work, as may result in the minimum displacement of workers being caused by the introduction of new machinery. Further, as we state below, we think that its introduction should in all cases be preceded by an agreement between the workers and the management as to the terms upon which it is to be introduced, and that in such agreement proper provision should be made to safeguard the interests of workers who may be threatened with displacement.

116. But "blind alley" occupations and the displacement of workers by machinery are not such serious aspects of the problem as are casual labour and the unemployment caused through periodical contractions of industrial activity. Of all forms of unemployment casual labour is in some ways at once the most mischievous, the most neglected, and the most easily remediable; the most mischievous because it is not recurrent, but chronic; the most neglected, because those whom it demoralises are tempted to acquiesce in it; the most remediable, because it can be largely diminished, or even abolished, by organisation, and because the lines upon which that organisation should proceed have been worked out by competent authorities.

117. We think that the casualisation of labour, whether brought about deliberately for the convenience of employers, who desire to have abundant reserves of labour at their disposal, or arising through mere carelessness in organisation, deserves the strongest condemnation; and we feel bound to add that the almost insignificant progress which, in spite of praiseworthy efforts in certain districts, has been made towards abolishing an evil system, since its character was again exposed and the remedies for it again explained by the late Poor Law Commission, is a grave blot upon our national life. We do not propose to enter upon a discussion of the economics of casual labour, which have been diagnosed in easily accessible works. Its essential feature, which is repeated at several different ports, and to a less extent in other industries—for example, building—"is the maintenance of a floating reserve of labour far larger than is required to meet the maximum demands of employers. This is brought about by the inde-

pendent action of the separate employment agencies each seeking to retain a following of labour as nearly as possible equal to its own maximum demand.”* Dock workers in London and Liverpool are engaged at different “stands” in different parts of the Docks. Little effort is made to employ the same men regularly; indeed, foremen often prefer to increase the supply of competitors for employment by attracting casual workers by occasional doles of work. There is little communication between different parts of the Docks, with the consequence that men are kept waiting round one “stand” who might get work at another.† The result is that instead of the work of an industry being done by a body of workers who are regularly employed, it is spread out over a larger body, each of whom is casually employed or under-employed. The surplus of men not engaged over men seeking work at the Docks was estimated before the war as at least 10,000 in London on an average day and as at least 7,000 in Liverpool on a busy day.‡ It is, we think, the duty of employers, of workers, and of the State to aim at substituting regular employment and wages for casual employment and wages. To achieve that result three changes are necessary. The first is that instead of men being engaged casually as men are wanted, without regard to any factor but the needs of the moment, the largest possible number of men should be employed as a permanent staff upon weekly wages. The second is that when, owing to the varying exigencies of trade, it is necessary to engage

* Beveridge, *Unemployment*, p. 92, 1909 (Longmans). See also *Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress Majority and Minority Reports*, 1909, and Mess, *Casual Labour at the Docks*, 1916 (Bell), which is the latest study of dock labour in London. For Liverpool, see Miss Rathbone, *Report of an Inquiry into the Condition of Labour at the Liverpool Docks*, 1904 (Northern Publishing Co.), and R. Williams, *The Liverpool Docks Problem*, 1912 (Northern Publishing Co.).

† The following description of engagement at one large wharf in London and the figures of men taken on give a practical illustration of the system: “There is a good deal of pushing and struggling at the calls here, the men rushing across the road and lining up on the other side directly the foreman appears. He walks up and down the line, inspecting the men exactly as though they were cattle, and as they are passed over they run along to take up a position farther on to get another chance.”

Date.	Time.	Place.	Number of Men waiting.	Number taken on.	Not taken on.
13.12.13	10 a.m.	Lower Thames St.	200	60	140
	10 a.m.	„ „	150	45	105
	10 a.m.	„ „	150	40	110
	10 a.m.	„ „	50	16	34
20.12.13	7 a.m.	„ „	80	56	24
	8 a.m.	High St., Wapping	200	70	130
	10 a.m.	„ „	60	30	30

(Mess, *op. cit.*, p. 36.)

‡ Mess, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

extra men for special emergencies, those men should be engaged through employment exchanges, in touch with a large number of different centres of employment, in order that workers instead of being exposed, as now, to intervals of unemployment between different jobs, may be enabled to pass rapidly and regularly from one centre of employment to another.* Thirdly, in order to prevent the abolition of casual labour causing distress among those already engaged in the industry, the docks should be closed to new comers, on the principle partially adopted at Liverpool, until the surplus of existing workers had been reduced by death or by the ordinary process of attrition. If these or other reforms are to be effective, they must not merely be imposed from above, but must be planned and carried out by some body representing the various interests involved. We think, therefore, that it is desirable that an Industrial Council, such as is suggested in Section (xiii.) of this chapter, should be established in the Transport Industry, with District Councils in each of the principal centres of employment, and that such a Council should have as its first duty to prepare a scheme for regularising employment and earnings among all workers at docks.

118. Such a policy, if carried out in the different forms necessitated by the varying conditions of different industries and different localities, would result in the substitution of regular work and earnings for the degrading system of casual employment which obtains in some industries at present. It might well be supplemented, in many cases, by the encouragement of dual occupations; in particular, by the combination of industry with work upon the land, a possibility to which too little attention has hitherto been paid in England. The worker in the factory, the dock labourer, the clerk in the office, should all have access to land. They should be able to get a small plot upon which they can spend their spare time, and work when they would otherwise be out of employment. Such an allotment does not only provide a healthful and pleasant occupation; it also offers a valuable supply of fresh food for the worker's family. A plot of land not more than one-sixteenth or one-eighth an acre in size can, if properly handled, yield at least £5 worth of vegetable food during the year. There are to-day, perhaps, some one million allotments, though no exact figures are available. There is no reason why there

* Thus, to give a concrete example, there are at present about 15 different calling-on places at which men are engaged at the Victoria and Albert Docks. The best plan would be that at all the "calls" men should be taken on at one or two central places. If this is not adopted the next plan would be that the first "call" (at 7 a.m.) should take place as now, but that at all subsequent "calls" (8, 9 and 1 o'clock) the men should be engaged not at 15 stands, but at one or two surplus stands only.

should not be some five million allotments, the total yield from which would reach the sum of £25,000,000.

119. How such a plan may be systematically worked out is shown by the example of Paris, with its extensive market gardens, or of Antwerp and Hamburg, in both of which dock labourers possess allotments which they cultivate at times when their services are not required in unloading vessels. In most continental towns some such dovetailing of industry and agriculture obtains; and there is no reason why it should not become equally general in this country. Indeed, attempts have already been made to acclimatise it here. Under the pressure of the present crisis steps have been taken on a large scale to increase the opportunities for working on the land which are open to dwellers in cities, and such efforts should not be allowed to lapse with the termination of the present emergency. In the methodical planning of town development which will become, it is to be hoped, increasingly common in the future, it should be the normal policy to set aside belts of land for productive purposes which could be used for agricultural allotments of various sizes, from those of the inmost zone, which would normally contain only a few rods, to those of the medium zone, which might amount to a quarter of an acre, and those of the outer zone which might reach the size of a small farm. Few things are more destructive of character than enforced idleness, or more invigorating than a few hours' work upon the land. We agree with those who urge that the provision of largely increased opportunities for such a subsidiary occupation would at once increase the amenity of town life, and be a valuable resource against the effects of such kinds of unemployment as cannot be prevented by better organisation.
120. Hardly less serious than casual labour is the unemployment caused by recurrent industrial slackness. Methods have been suggested by eminent authorities* by which the Government and local bodies, by concentrating a considerable part of their demand for goods in periods in which the normal industry of the country is depressed, could diminish the fall in the aggregate purchasing power of the community, which at once results from and intensifies such depressions, and thus avert or mitigate their effect upon employment. According to evidence submitted to the recent Poor Law Commission† the difference between the total wage bill of the United Kingdom in the best years and worst years of a trade cycle was before the war about £10,000,000, and the total loss of wages over a period

* *Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress, Minority Report*, 1909.

† *Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress*, 1910. Appendix, Vol. VIII. Minutes of Evidence with Appendix [Cd. 5066].

of ten years approximated to £40,000,000. Moreover, apart from such cyclical fluctuations of industry, there are the well-known seasonal variations of employment, of which the most familiar instance is that given by the building trades, but which affect in a greater or less degree a wide range of industries. While we do not imply that it is practicable entirely to smooth out such contractions and expansions in the volume of employment, it is important, we think, that every effort should be made to diminish them by using the purchases of public bodies to exercise a counteracting or compensating influence in the manner described by the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commissioners. Apart from the peculiar circumstances of the present emergency, Departments of State and Local Authorities are in normal times purchasers upon an extensive scale of a great variety of goods and services. There are, indeed, comparatively few industries which are unaffected by the demand of the Admiralty Contracts and Purchase Department, the Admiralty Works Department, the War Office, the Home Office, the Post Office, the Office of Works, the India Office, the Stationery Office, the Commissioners of Woods, the Commissioners of Public Works, the Metropolitan Police, the Road Board, the Development Commission, the Prison Commissioners and the County Borough and District Councils of the kingdom; and in view of recent extensions of State activity, the number of industries influenced by the orders of such public authorities will prove, it is probable, to be considerably larger after the war than it was in 1914. While some of the requirements of these and similar bodies must be met when they arise, there are others which are capable of being postponed until a period of slack trade sends up the percentage of unemployed. The execution of contracts for new buildings, such as schools, post offices, barracks, for repairing old buildings, for the clothing of the army, navy, police, tramwaymen, and other public servants, could in time of peace often be deferred to the worst years of the industrial cycle, and, if so deferred, would do something to counterbalance the decline in the demand for labour which would otherwise take place. It is clearly in the public interest that this policy should, when practicable, be adopted both by the Central Departments of State and by the Local Authorities.

121. But while it is eminently desirable that practical effect should be given to such plans for preventing unemployment, we think it necessary to recognise that only time and experiment can prove their value, and that it is in the meantime indispensable to take immediate measures to ensure that the next depression of trade does not find the community unprepared. The right policy we believe to be contained in Part II. of the Insurance Act, though we do not bind our-

selves to an approval of all the details of that measure. The principle of that Act is that the maintenance of workers during times of industrial slackness should be defrayed out of funds accumulated during periods of industrial prosperity. That principle we consider a sound one, and we think it should be extended in two directions. In the first place, it should be applied to all those trades, including women's occupations, to which it does not at present apply. In the second place, the benefit paid to the unemployed worker should be increased, and the period during which it can be drawn should be lengthened, the necessary financial readjustments being made to permit of that increased sum being available.

122. If workers are indispensable for industry when it is active, it is, in our opinion, right that they should be adequately maintained when industry is slack. The spectacle of the man who is capable of working, and willing to work, but who is deprived of the opportunity of earning his livelihood by circumstances over which he has no control, is a constant challenge to the conscience of Christians, which, hitherto, they have done too little to meet. To leave the unemployed workman to struggle unaided with his misery is unchristian: to offer him doles is an insult. We submit that it is the evident duty of Christians to press upon the community *first*, the adoption of such measures as are likely to diminish unemployment, and, *second*, the provision of adequate and honourable means of maintenance for all workers, who, in spite of such preventive measures, may be from time to time unemployed.

(xii.) *The Protection of Children and Young Persons.*

123. In the third place, we would emphasise that it is the duty of employers, of workers, and of the whole community to take special pains to ensure that the organisation of industry shall be such as neither to impair the health nor to prejudice the education of children and young persons. We shall deal with education in a subsequent chapter, and we do not propose to anticipate here what we have to say upon that subject. But the possibility of establishing an improved system of education depends in no small measure upon the recognition by all classes that children and young persons must be regarded primarily not as wage-earners, but as potential parents and potential citizens, and that a great sin is committed when the development of their physique, their character, and their intellectual capacity is sacrificed to the exploitation of their immediate economic utility.
124. The record of our country in this matter, with its permission in the past of cruel and brutalising overwork, its timid intervention to protect those least capable of protecting themselves, its tolerance even at the present time

of the sacrifice of human potentialities to the alleged exigencies of industry, is, on the whole, a discreditable one. Though some of the worst evils have been abolished, others remain. It is no exaggeration to say that even to-day there are many industries which have as their foundation the labour of children, who are not the less children in their helplessness, their need of protection, and their immaturity of mind and body, because many of them are, in the eyes of the law, "young persons." We would point out that not only are children who receive partial exemption allowed to work in the mill at 12 years of age, but that at 14 all young persons are allowed by law to work the full legal hours of 55½ (textile factories) and 60 (non-textile factories and workshops) per week, and that it has recently been stated in an official report* that of the numerous young persons employed in industries where there has as yet been no legal limitation of hours, some are working for as much as 90 hours per week.

125. Further, we would call special attention to the different but hardly less grave evil aptly described as "blind alley" employment. In certain industries part of the work is performed by young persons between 14 and 18 years of age, who have no prospect of permanent employment in the firm, or indeed in the industry, who receive no training which will qualify them for future employment, and who are dismissed when they demand an adult's wage, to struggle for a precarious living in the unskilled labour market, and to be replaced in the industry which they have left by a fresh relay of adolescent workers, who will be similarly dismissed in their turn. "Between 15 and 18 years of age," stated the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption† in speaking of the woollen industry, "the greater part of the boys leave the trade, having lost an important part of their schooling, having acquired some preliminary knowledge of a trade which cannot find them employment, and are cast upon the labour market. . . . As far as the boys are concerned, the system seems calculated to create casual and unskilled male labour." "New developments of the factory system," said the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education in its Report on Attendance at Continuation Schools, "are multiplying opportunities of non-educative employment, both for boys and girls, during adolescence. In many works . . . boys' work, or girls' work, is simply a specialised compartment which gives no kind of qualification for future skilled employment outside it. . . . Unless counteracting measures are taken to check them, these

* Board of Education Report of Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War, 1917 [Cd. 8512].

† Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance, Vol. I., 1909 [Cd. 4791].

developments of factory production and of the transport trades will cause grave and lasting injury to the national life." "The mass of Unemployment," reported the Minority of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress, "is continually being recruited by a stream of young men from industries which rely upon unskilled boy labour, and turn it adrift at manhood without any special or general industrial qualification." "Their occupations," reiterates the last Report on the subject, that of the Board of Education Departmental Committee of 1917 on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War, "give them no kind of industrial training which will fit them for skilled adult employment, and in many cases not even that general training of the faculties which makes the intelligent and adaptable, even though unskilled, labourer. Nor are these occupations necessarily an avenue even to unskilled employment within the same industries. Most of those following them will be dismissed whenever they begin to ask for an adult's wages. This is not because they are inefficient workers, or for any other personal or accidental reason; it follows regularly and inevitably from the way in which the industries are organised. Either they have no adult workers or practically none, or they can only absorb in employment a small proportion of those employed as juveniles. The rest drop out" (often) "to join the ranks of the permanently or intermittently unemployed." Van boys, doffers in textile factories, oven-boys in bakeries, drawers-off in saw mills, machine minders in furniture factories and in certain branches of the engineering trade—these are a few examples out of a much larger number of juvenile occupations to which the official descriptions quoted above are often applicable. This misuse of the nation's youth is not exceptional, but common. It is not an unexplored problem, but an evil which has been repeatedly diagnosed* by experts. It has not been substantially diminished since attention was first called to it, but continues almost unabated either by conscience or by law. Indeed, the present emergency has caused it to increase to even more disastrous dimensions.

126. Christians cannot undo the past; but they are bound to insist that this bad chapter in the nation's history shall be closed at once, and closed for ever. We submit that the past and present use of children as wealth-producers stands con-

* *Reports of Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress, 1909, especially of Mr. (now Sir) Cyril Jackson, on Boy Labour, Appendix, Vol. XX. [Cd. 4632]; Board of Education Report of Consultative Committee on Attendance, Compulsory or Otherwise, at Continuation Schools, 1909 [Cd. 4757]; Report of Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance, Vol. I., 1909 [Cd. 4791]; Board of Education Report of Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War, 1917 [Cd. 8512].*

demned both for folly and injustice, and that the demands of industry must not be allowed to prevent any child from obtaining full opportunities of education as a human being and a citizen. It is, we think, the duty of employers, acting in conjunction with organised labour, to make the fullest use of such machinery and methods of organisation as may diminish the number of young persons employed in what we have described as "blind alley" occupations. Further, as we suggest in Chapter V. of our Report, there should be regular co-operation between Juvenile Advisory Committees, or Choice of Employment Committees, and parents, teachers, employers, and trade unions, with a view to assisting young persons to find the employments for which they are best suited.

127. But, apart from that particular evil, there remains the larger task of securing that employment in industry shall not conflict with the physical and mental development of all children and young persons. We warmly welcome the Education Act which has just become law, under which all exemptions under the age of 14 are abolished, and attendance at continuance schools is made obligatory on all young persons between 14 and 18 for either 7 or 8 hours per week during the first seven years of the Act's operation, and subsequently for 8 hours per week. At the same time, for reasons which we explain in our chapter on Education, we believe that on educational grounds the age of compulsory full-time attendance at school should be raised in time to 15, and ultimately to 16, and that the ideal to be aimed at is that, between the age at which full-time attendance at school ceases and that of 18, all young persons not engaged in occupations which are themselves directly educational should spend, ultimately, not less than half their working time in continued school education. If this programme is to be realised, industry must be reorganised in such a way as no longer to rest upon a basis of the labour of children and young persons. We think that the duty of undertaking such a reorganisation, and of urging upon the community that it shall be undertaken, is one which ought to make a special appeal to the conscience of Christian men and women.

(xiii.) *Association of Workers and of Employers.*

128. (d) The fourth point which we desire to emphasise is the important and indeed predominant part in the progress towards a more Christian society which may be played by voluntary combinations. Whatever the specific measures of reform which may be introduced by the action of the community, the character of industrial life must, in the last resort, depend mainly upon the ideals and practice of those im-

mediately engaged in it. In the long run it will be what they make it. And if the idea of co-operation for public service is to replace that of competition for private gain as its guiding principle, that principle must not merely be an external standard imposed by public pressure upon a reluctant body of producers; it must find practical realisation in the daily life and ordinary organisation of each industry, and, indeed, of each individual workshop. It must not merely result in compliance with rules imposed by law, but must mould the internal structure and organisation of economic life.

129. It is mainly, we believe, through a wide extension of the principle of association that such a spirit is to be fostered. Of that principle the Church is itself intended to be the greatest expression, and its development among those engaged in industry should command the sympathy and practical support of Christians. Experience suggests, we think, that unrestricted competition among workers and among employers tends to result in social degradation, and that trade associations including all workers, both men and women, on the one hand, and similar associations including all employers on the other, are the best foundation of mutual understanding industrial peace and social progress. No one who compares the conditions obtaining, for example, in the cotton industry to-day with those which characterised it in the middle of the nineteenth century can doubt that organisation, both among workers and among employers, has been a potent force in the civilisation of industrial life, or fail to desire that its influence should be widely extended to include those classes of workers, such as most agricultural labourers, most women, and large bodies of other poorly paid workers, who are, at present, without the protection of any organisation.

130. If, however, associations of workers and of employers are to render the full services of which they are capable, something more is required than a mere increase in their membership. We do not pretend, of course, to the special knowledge needed to define the proper relations between the different parties engaged in industry. But there are many indications that public opinion among all classes is ripe for far-reaching changes in industrial relationships, which must be a matter of the deepest interest to all who accept the teaching of Christianity as the guide of social life. In particular, there is, we think, a growing conviction that the organisation of industry must be such as not merely to yield a life of security and comfort to all engaged in it, but to admit of their exercising a genuine and increasing control over the conditions upon which their livelihood depends, and over industrial policy and organisation, in so far as those conditions are affected by them.

131. Whatever may be thought of that conviction, its existence is

a fact which requires to be weighed by all concerned with the future of industry and with the improvement of social relationships. On the one hand, it is increasingly felt that the existing organisation of industry often confers upon the manager or employer powers over the working life of hundreds, sometimes of thousands, of men and women too great to be entrusted to any individual, however capable or benevolent. On the other hand, it is believed that trade unionism, which has proved its value in dealing with the tasks hitherto undertaken by it, offers an instrument through which the worker may obtain an increasing share in the control of industry. The social movement of our day is, in short, incorrectly understood, when it is assumed to seek only an improvement in the material conditions of industrial life. It represents at bottom a demand, which is growing in volume and intensity, for the gradual displacement, through some form of representative and responsible government, of the industrial autocracy which, if it played an indispensable part in the earlier stages of industrial development, is believed to be neither necessary nor desirable in a democratic and educated community.

132. Upon the practicability of this aim and of the methods suggested for attaining it, we are not in full agreement with each other. To some of us it appears that economic progress and efficiency can be secured only through the ultimate responsibility for decisions upon questions of industrial policy and organisation being, as now, in the hands of individuals who are unfettered by subordination to any superior authority ; to others of us that an increasing responsibility for industrial organisation ought to be devolved upon the organised bodies of workers, as they become willing and fit to undertake it, and that the future of the employer or manager is as one workman among other workmen, who will be, with them, a fellow-servant of the community. But while we differ as to the remoter ideal, we are in agreement as to the steps immediately desirable. We think that the demand for an increasing share in the control of those industrial conditions upon which the livelihood of the worker depends is one which ought to be met. What is required is some change in status such as we endeavoured to express in an earlier part of this Report when we said that his position should be that, not of a hand, but of a citizen of industry. The beginning of such a change of status is that it should be recognised that both the prosperity of industries as a whole, and the methods of organisation adopted in individual workshops, are matters which concern the workers as much as their employers, and that they should have an equal opportunity of taking part, through their representatives, in the discussion of industrial questions and the settlement of industrial conditions. As a step in this direction we think :

133. (1) That it should be the normal practice in organised trades for representatives of employers and workers to confer at regular intervals upon such questions affecting the trade as may be suitable for common consideration.
134. (2) That representatives of the workers should be normally and permanently associated with the management in matters affecting their livelihood and comfort, and the welfare of the business, such as the fixing and alteration of piece-rates, the improvement of processes and machinery, and the settlement of the terms upon which they are to be introduced, workshop discipline, and the establishment of the maximum possible security of employment.
135. So far from hampering industry, this system of Industrial Parliaments and Workshop Committees would, we believe, increase its efficiency. It would result in valuable suggestions being made, and would remove the minor causes of friction before they arose. But efficiency, though important, is not the ultimate consideration. Most important of all, the worker would obtain greatly increased control over the conditions of his employment. He would no longer have reason to believe, as in certain industries he has to-day, that if his weekly earnings increase his piece-rates will be reduced. He would be protected against arbitrary dismissal by having an appeal to a committee on which he was represented. He would take part, through his representatives, in discussing the larger questions of the industry, such as the regularisation of employment and the abolition of casual labour, the systems of wage payment, the improvement of the technique of production and methods of preventing the introduction of machinery from displacing workers who have spent their whole working life in the industry and who, if displaced, will be ruined.
136. The development of such a system would tend, we believe, to raise the status of the worker. It is probable that it would also do something to diminish both the frequency and the bitterness of industrial disputes. That the social life of any civilised nation should be such as to cause the recurrence of something like industrial warfare, with all its incidental misery, to be regarded almost as one of its normal features, ought to arouse profound dissatisfaction among all who believe that industry should be inspired by the ideal of co-operation for public service. It is evidence both of the existence of deeply rooted social evils and of the weakness of the link which at present binds different classes and different industries to the service of the community. We cannot believe that such perpetual tension represents a condition either natural to man or such as can be accepted with approval by Christians.
137. In order, however, to promote industrial peace, it is not enough to deplore industrial war. There must be a two-fold

change in the relations at present existing between each industry and the general public. Practical application must be given to the principle that all engaged in industry have obligations to the community and that the community, in its turn, has obligations to all engaged in industry. On the one hand, the members of each industry must be prepared to subordinate their own immediate interests to those of the public, and must refuse to snatch special advantages or privileges for themselves at the cost of penalising the consumer. On the other hand, the public must recognise its duty to make every effort to secure to all its members the opportunity of obtaining the material conditions of a good life, so that every class may be confident that it can secure redress for its grievances without an appeal to force. It is not reasonable to demand that, of the two parties immediately concerned in a dispute, either employers should give way to workmen or workmen to employers. It is reasonable to require that both should give way to a principle, or to a cause, or to the higher interests of the society of which both are members. In so far as, and only in so far as, industry becomes unmistakably organised for the service of the public, the community will be in a position to insist that the disagreements of the different sections engaged in it must be subordinated to the public service.

138. While we believe that such an ideal is not unattainable, its attainment must be a matter of time and patient effort. For the present at least it must be recognised that disputes will continue to occur, though many of those arising from trivial causes will be prevented. We think that it would be advantageous if the associations which we have described were completed by their federation in a larger and more representative body, a national industrial Parliament representing the statesmanship of all parties concerned in industry, to which disputed points might be referred by individual trades for inquiry, report and decision. We believe that the decisions of such a Parliament would rapidly come to be regarded by all parties as final. It is, of course, important that, whatever the machinery adopted, the questions submitted should be examined and decided with the least possible delay, and that, as we have already stated, agreements once made should be strictly observed.

(xiv.) *The Industrial Employment of Women.*

139. (e) The proposals which we have advanced above with regard to the establishment of a full living wage, the prevention of unemployment, and the encouragement of a more comprehensive trade unionism, apply, of course, to women as well as to men. The economic position of women workers in the majority of industries was, before the war, one of peculiar impotence.

Entering industry at an early age, and for the most part without any specific training, expecting very often to leave industrial life after a few years on their marriage, employed largely in seasonal trades, and often restricted by custom, prejudice and ignorance to low-skilled branches of industry, large numbers of women workers accepted before the war wages which, as the figures quoted above* show only too clearly, were often insufficient to provide even the bare necessities of physical existence, and were sometimes insufficient to provide even them. Like men, they suffered from fluctuation of employment, but, unlike some men, they had no accumulated funds upon which to draw when their wages ceased. Outside the cotton industry only an insignificant proportion were protected by trade unionism; and indeed the wages of many women workers were so low, and their industrial position so precarious, as to make effective membership of a trade union almost impossible. Apart from the special case of women's trade unionism in Lancashire, the one bright spot in the recent history of women's industry is the striking improvement in the wages of women workers in the occupations in which Trade Boards were established under the Act of 1909. Desirable for all but the well-organised workers, a legal minimum wage is indispensable to women. All occupations in which a large number of women are employed, unless the workers are sufficiently well organised to protect themselves, should, therefore, be scheduled under the Trade Boards Act, and Part II. of the Insurance Act, amended on the lines which we have suggested above, should be made applicable to them.

140. But while these measures of protection are as necessary for women as for men, there ought, we think, to be a change in the attitude of society towards the industrial employment of women commensurate with the importance of the part which they have played in the war. During the last three years large numbers of women have undertaken work hitherto reserved for men, and new standards with regard both to wages and to the other conditions of employment have begun to grow up. It is important, we think, that after the war these new and better standards should be maintained. It is, of course, indispensable that where individual men, whose place has been taken by women, have been promised reinstatement, they should be reinstated. Further, both employers and the Government have given an explicit promise to restore trade union conditions, and that promise, unless waived by those with whom it was contracted, must be observed. But, apart from these special obligations, it ought, we think, to be recognised that in future the economic position of women must not be determined merely by an appeal to previous custom or by considerations

* See p. 62.

of profit. Women are entitled not merely to "equal pay for equal work," when the work which they do is the same as that done by men, but to equal freedom in the choice of their occupation, equal justice and consideration, and an equal voice in controlling the conditions of employment. Provided that these conditions of equality obtain, the comparative efficiency of men's and women's work should generally serve, in normal times, to delimit their respective spheres. We recognise, indeed, that there are certain occupations which are manifestly unhealthy and injurious to women, in which, in spite of their unsuitability for them, they continue to be employed. But we think that if any occupations are to be closed to women on these grounds, it must be done, after women themselves have been consulted, by means of legislation.

141. There is one aspect of women's employment in industry which is at once of special gravity and of special difficulty. We allude to the work of married women. On the one hand, it cannot be doubted that the employment in industry of women with young children is often prejudicial both to their families and to the community. On the other hand, except, perhaps, in the textile districts, it is true to say that married women's labour is commonly undertaken through the economic necessity of supplementing the low or irregular earnings of the husband, and that it flourishes most in those parts of the country in which the earnings of men are inadequate and their employment intermittent.* It is, in short, a bad alternative to a worse evil, and can be diminished not by direct prohibition, but only by raising the wages of men to a point which will enable them to maintain their families in comfort, by abolishing casual labour, and by providing adequate maintenance during unemployment. Were such conditions of industry established, married women's labour would diminish, because its main causes would have been removed. Moreover, those married women who do not work in industry ought not thereby to be placed in a worse financial position than those who do. We think, therefore, that some more effective method should be devised for recognising the status of married women, and for dealing with husbands who neglect the support of their wives and families.

(xv.) *The Need of a New Attitude towards Profits.*

142. (f) In the fifth place we think that some modification is necessary in the attitude of the community towards the profits of industry. The principle upon which the industry of

* See Howarth and Wilson, *West Ham: A Study in Social and Industrial Problems*, 1907 (Dent), and *Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress*, Report by Miss Constance Williams and Mr. Thomas Jones on the *Effect of Outdoor Relief on Wages and the Conditions of Employment*, 1909. Appendix, Vol. XVII. [Cd. 4690].

the country has been conducted since the middle of the last century is that the individual should be free to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market, and to apply the profit as he pleases. Though the most successful man of business may have been the least scrupulous, yet so long as he kept within the limits set by law, he incurred no responsibility for the wealth which he accumulated. The normal unit of the larger industries of the country, with the exception of agriculture, is the limited company; and a limited company, with its impersonal organisation, makes it difficult for the shareholder to feel any responsibility either to the work-people who contribute to the earning of his dividends or to the community as a whole.

143. Moreover, the subject of profits is a complicated one. Industry offers differing degrees of security at different times; losses are made as well as profits; and what might be considered a fair return in one industry may fail to attract capital in another, in which the security is less and the chance of loss greater. It is well-known that in almost every industry the profits of the different firms included in it vary greatly at any one time, often even to the extent of large profits being earned by those at one end of the scale and losses made by those at the other. Frequently, indeed, the profits are made by successful buying and selling, and in that case they must be regarded as the result of speculation rather than of manufacturing. While the abnormal profits derived from combination and monopoly cannot be morally justified, it must not be forgotten that, in the absence of partial or complete monopoly, a limit to profits tends to be set by competition, and that it is essential to the progress of industry, particularly in a country where industry engages the majority of the population, that adequate stimulus to enterprise, to initiative, and to the highest efficiency of work should be maintained. Nor, finally, is it easy to judge what the scale of profits in an industry may actually be. The rates of dividends are not a sure guide, as they depend upon the nominal capital upon which they are paid, and the nominal capital either may be inflated, or may be less than the real capital employed, as is the case with those firms which continually reinvest in their businesses.

144. The problem is therefore complex, and, while so much uncertainty obtains about it, too many industrial controversies are battles in the dark. We think it important, therefore, in the first place, that steps should be taken by the Board of Trade, or by some other Department concerned with industry, to place at the disposal of the public the fullest information which it can obtain with regard to the profits of different industries. In particular, if in future, as seems not impossible, the State should encourage the formation of combinations, it

would be reasonable, we think, to require that their profits should be checked by an extension of the costing system adopted during the war, and by a public audit of their accounts. In industry, as in other departments of social life, one great safeguard against misunderstanding is to be found in complete publicity. Suspicion is often the result of ignorance. If it is the case, as is sometimes alleged, that the profits in most industries are inconsiderable, they ought to be known in the interests both of the shareholder and of industrial peace. If they are excessive, they ought to be known in the interests of the worker and of the general public.

145. But while the facts cannot be stated exhaustively or with precision, the principle for which Christian men and women should stand is not, we think, open to dispute. It is that there is no moral justification for profits which exceed the amount needed to pay for adequate salaries to the management, a fair rate of interest on the capital invested, and such reserves as are needed to ensure and maintain the highest efficiency of production and the development and growth of the industry. Judged by that standard, the profits obtained in certain industrial undertakings are, we cannot doubt, excessive. Though there are, no doubt, some difficulties in any method by which it may be sought to give practical application to this principle, the policy of taxing surplus profits beyond a certain determined standard has been found practicable, and has strong arguments in its favour. We do not suggest, of course, that adherence to this principle should be used to penalise exceptional capacity or effort, as progress and enterprise are necessary to the welfare of the community. But the importance of encouraging such qualities does not constitute an argument in favour of the large dividends distributed to the shareholders in certain undertakings which they are free to consume on their personal expenditure. It constitutes rather an argument against them. Christians are bound to discountenance by every means in their power the application of wealth to luxuries, to expensive amusements, and to the gratification of wasteful habits, whatever the class in which it may take place. They are bound to insist that, since industry is a public function, no persons are entitled to an income for which no service is rendered, and that it is the duty of those engaged in it to offer the community the best service technically possible at the lowest price compatible with adequate payment to those who provide it and with the growth and extension of the industry itself.

146. The whole body of social tradition and practice which esteems an industry primarily according to the profits which it yields, which assumes that large profits are desirable, and which permits an individual to apply at his own pleasure the profits

arising from participation in an exceptionally prosperous undertaking, is, indeed, strikingly at variance with the spirit of brotherhood which should characterise a Christian community. "Publice egestas, privatim opulentia" was the judgment of an enlightened Pagan upon a society which spent lavishly upon private luxuries and meanly upon public needs. Modern civilisation, which has a nobler ideal to inspire it and a more exacting standard with which to conform, ought not to fall under the same condemnation. It is the duty of Christians to urge that after the necessary charges upon industry, mentioned above, have been met, any surplus should be applied to the benefit of the whole community, and to bear gladly such demands as the community may make upon them for that purpose.

(xvi.) *The Development of Local Government.*

147. (g) While the specific reforms which we have indicated would, we believe, contribute to the humanising of industry and to the maintenance of a higher moral standard in economic life, the only permanent security that society will be guided by Christian ideals is an intenser spirit of brotherhood and a more general devotion to the service of the community. That spirit and devotion cannot be created merely by legislation: to foster them is one of the tasks of the Christian Church. But they must work through institutions; and one principal institution through which men and women of goodwill and public spirit can co-operate to serve the well-being of their neighbours consists in the organs of local government, especially those of our great cities.
148. The intimate contact of these local public bodies with the daily needs of the people should make them at once a school of good citizenship, and the most potent influence to improve the conditions of social life. Though much valuable work has been done by Local Authorities in the course of the last half century, much remains to be done. There is a marked difference between the standards of civic duty recognised by different local communities and by their representatives. While some among them make the fullest use of their existing powers, others, it is only too evident, are content to comply merely with the minimum obligations imposed upon them by statute, and in such matters as education, the improvement of public health, and the provision of adequate housing accommodation, allow the service of the community to be thwarted by public apathy, by a narrow and short-sighted parsimony, or even by the sectional interests of influential individuals and classes. That unselfish and energetic citizenship is incumbent upon Christians is a point which ought to be too obvious to require emphasis. There are few matters

upon which an increased attention and understanding by Christians might be made more fruitful of immediately practical results. It should be their task to awaken the public conscience to the existence of neglected evils, to co-operate with all forces making for social rightcousness, and to strengthen by their example and influence the consciousness of brotherhood and the sense of civic responsibility without which the best devised administrative system is but lifeless mechanism.

149. We think, further, that in view of the conspicuous services rendered by many of the great Local Authorities, a wider view should be taken of their functions, and that their powers should be increased to correspond with it. In particular, Local Authorities should be allowed more initiative in undertaking such new services as may from time to time be desired by the citizens whom they serve. At present they can do only what they are expressly authorised to do by Act of Parliament. They cannot purchase or hold land except under powers given by legislation or for the purposes specified in it. They cannot undertake the supply of foodstuffs or of fuel, even though the easiest way of checking an undue rise in the price of the necessities of life may be to offer the consumer the alternative of purchasing them from a public body. They cannot establish places of refreshment, rest and recreation, which may offer an alternative to the public house. They can undertake the building of houses, since powers to that effect have been conferred upon them; but they cannot undertake operations which may be subsidiary or supplementary to building houses. If they wish to obtain fresh powers they can only do so, except for the specific purposes to which Parliament has made applicable the procedure of Provisional Order, by the cumbrous and expensive process of Private Bill legislation.

150. Such a limited conception of the powers of Local Authorities may have been natural and desirable when English municipal machinery assumed its present shape in the earlier part of the last century. But the larger municipalities of England now form communities which possess both public spirit and practical experience, and they should be encouraged to develop their communal life in the way they think best. Central control is necessary in order to ensure that posterity is not burdened by excessive capital expenditure, to preserve a minimum standard of efficiency, and to adjust the claims of conflicting authorities. But provided that these conditions are observed, the right principle would seem to be that Local Authorities should not merely be allowed to do what they are empowered to do, but that they should be at liberty, without the necessity of incurring the expense of promoting a Private Bill, to do any work in the sphere of Local Government which they are not forbidden to do. The greater the dignity and importance of their func-

tions and powers the more likely are they to command the services of able and public-spirited men, and to become the visible expression of a lofty ideal of citizenship. We think, therefore, that in order to foster civic patriotism and public spirit, the larger Local Authorities (for example, County Boroughs) should be free to undertake such services as the inhabitants of their respective areas may desire, subject to such central control and approval as may be needed to secure efficiency and to check exorbitant borrowing.

(xvii.) *Housing.*

151. (h) In conclusion we desire to urge with all the emphasis at our command the grave evils which arise through the provision of inadequate or unhealthy house accommodation, and the paramount importance that immediate steps should be taken, both by local bodies and by the Central Government, to increase its supply and to improve its quality. Christian teaching has repeatedly emphasised that it is through the influence of the family that character is trained, and the seeds implanted from which the qualities of the good citizen and the Christian may later develop. But the condition of family life is a home which is at once physically healthful and not too crowded to permit of rest after labour, of conversation and reflection, and of innocent recreation. It is no exaggeration to say that that condition is one which several hundred thousand of our fellow countrymen are without. Families which are obliged to live with an average of more than two persons in each room may possess shelter, but they can hardly be said to have the homes of human beings. Yet as long ago as 1901 the Census showed that, in England and Wales alone, there were then no fewer than 2,667,506 persons living more than two to a room.* And even this figure gives no indication of the extent to which overcrowding prevailed in those areas in which it was most serious. In Glasgow 55·7 per cent. were living more than two persons to a room, and 27·9 per cent. actually more than three persons to a room.†
152. Nor is there, unfortunately, any reason to believe that the situation has improved since 1901. The Census of 1911 shows that 9·1 per cent. of the total population of England and Wales, and 17·7 per cent. of the population of the County of London, were overcrowded,‡ in the sense of living with more

* *Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol. VIII, ; Tenements in Administrative Counties and Urban and Rural Districts, 1913* [Cd. 6910].

† *Census of Scotland, 1911 ; Report on the Twelfth Decennial Census of Scotland, Vol. I., Part 2, City of Glasgow, 1912* [Cd. 6097].

‡ The percentage overcrowded in different districts of London was, of course, much higher. Thus in Finsbury it was 39·8, in Shoreditch 36·6, in Stepney 35, in Bethnal Green, 33·2. Outside London the percentage was highest in Gateshead (33·7), South Shields (32·9), Sunderland (32·6), Newcastle (31·7), Tynemouth (30·8).

than two persons per room, and that 89.1 per cent. of the population were housed in tenements with over one but not more than two persons per room. In England and Wales, therefore, 48.2 per cent., nearly one-half of the population were living in houses with more than one person per room. In Scotland* the situation was even worse. In 1911, 43.6 per cent. of the population were living more than two in a room, 21.1 per cent.—over a fifth—were living more than three in a room, while 8.3 per cent.—one in twelve—were actually living more than four in a room. The inquiries of Professor Bowley, to which we have already alluded, show that in 1912-13 the percentage overcrowded in Northampton, Warrington, West Stanley, and Reading was respectively 8.7, 19.7, 50.0, and 13.5 per cent. Since 1914, except in certain munition areas, building has almost come to an end. The President of the Local Government Board has, since the beginning of the war, estimated the deficiency of working-class dwellings and flats in England and Wales alone at half a million.

153. Such a shortage of accommodation not only makes overcrowding inevitable, but has two other results which are hardly less serious. On the one hand, it causes rents to rise till they absorb between one-fifth and one-sixth of the income of the poorer working-class families.† On the other hand it causes the continued occupation of premises unfit for habitation, since tenants are naturally reluctant to leave insanitary property, and Local Authorities to destroy it, when no alternative accommodation is available. Familiarity has, in fact, blinded the eyes even of public-spirited and benevolent men to a deficiency of housing accommodation, in town and country alike, which is quite inconsistent with healthy national and personal life.

154. The effects upon health and character of residence in insanitary and overcrowded property are so evidently disastrous as to impose upon Christians the duty of remedying them by every means in their power. In his classical work upon infantile mortality, Sir George Newman‡ has collected a large body of evidence proving that the death rate both among the general population and among infants under twelve months of age varies with the degree of overcrowding in which they live, which itself, of course, is closely connected with the family income. During the ten years from 1891-1900 the infantile mortality rate of London districts in which 10 per cent. of the population was overcrowded was 142 per 1,000; where

* *Census of Scotland, 1911: Report on the Twelfth Decennial Census of Scotland*, Vol. II., 1913 [Cd. 6896].

† Bowley and Burnett-Hurst, *Livelihood and Poverty*, 1915 (Bell). Professor Bowley's definition of overcrowding is slightly more stringent than the official definition.

‡ Newman, *Infant Mortality*, 1906 (Methuen).

15-20 per cent. was overcrowded the infantile death-rate was 196; where over 85 per cent. was overcrowded it was 228; and, of course, for one infant which dies, many survive with health undermined and faculties impaired. Nor is the destruction of life and health the only evil resulting from the continued failure of the community to secure healthful conditions of life for its urban population. The character of the environment in which they live has an intimate effect upon both the mental development and personal morality of children and young persons.

155. At the present time, as far as housing is concerned, that effect, we fear it must be said, over large areas and in many places, is almost wholly bad. On the one hand, in the overcrowded areas of our great cities, children are divorced from all contact with nature, and are too often deprived of the opportunity of healthful recreation. They find their playground in the street, and the stimulus which their imagination craves in the picture-palace. On the other hand, it is well known that overcrowding fosters some of the worst vices of adults among boys and girls who are little more than children, but who are forced by the conditions under which they live into a precocious acquaintance with aspects of life from which, in a healthy society, they would be shielded.

156. There are two main lines along which, we think, reform should proceed. On the one hand a higher standard of sanitation must be enforced by the community, and houses which are unfit for human habitation must be condemned as rigorously as food which is unfit for human consumption. To enforce that higher standard must be, in the main, the task of Local Authorities and of the State. But if they are to be assisted in the performance of it, as they should be, by a more exacting and sensitive public opinion, it is essential that the public should be sufficiently informed as to the various parties who have a legal interest in urban land and house property, to enable it to fix responsibility upon those upon whom it ought to rest. At present that information is not available. Property is let, and sublet, and sublet again. It is impossible in many cases to ascertain the different parties interested in it; and even if the name of the ultimate owner of insanitary property is known, it by no means follows that it is the ultimate owner who derives the profits from its condition or who ought to bear the responsibility for it. It is this atmosphere of secrecy which enables those who derive an income from letting insanitary premises to escape the public odium which ought to attach to a practice so clearly dishonest and anti-social. Publicity is an antiseptic for many evils; and in order that an appeal may be made to the conscience both of individuals and of the public, complete publicity

in these matters is, it seems to us, essential. We think, therefore, that the names and addresses of all owners of urban land and house property, and of other persons having a legal interest in them, should be registered with the local Public Authority and should be easily accessible to the public.

157. The inferior quality of much existing accommodation is only one aspect of the Housing Problem. The deficiency in its quantity is, as we have already pointed out, even more important, for it is difficult to maintain a high standard of quality unless the supply itself is greatly increased. If that deficiency—no novel or transient evil—is to be overcome, it must be faced by Christian men and women with a courageous determination to end conditions which make a life of health, or even of decency, almost unattainable by so many of their countrymen. Something will, indeed, have been done to remove one cause of overcrowding if wages, as we have already suggested, are raised sufficiently to enable the worst paid worker to provide the necessaries of a healthy life for themselves and their families without being compelled, as now, to economise on house-room. But it is not enough to increase the effective demand for accommodation: it is necessary to increase the supply. The fundamental need is a large, and, as far as practicable, a rapid, increase in the actual number of houses within the reach even of the smallest incomes.

158. We are not concerned with the technicalities of housing reform, but with the principles which should be supported by Christians. The right principles are, we think, simple, though their application will demand much disinterested public service, self-sacrifice and devotion. They are, first, that land should be made available for the erection of houses before the need for it is so urgent as to cause existing accommodation to be overcrowded; second, that building should, as far as possible, not merely keep pace with the demand but anticipate it. We think, therefore, *first*, that in order to discourage the practice of holding land from the market longer than is desirable in the interest of the community, unused urban land should, after adequate provision has been made for open spaces, be specially and heavily rated; *second*, that local authorities should be free, subject to the necessary central control and approval to acquire and hold land for such purposes as they may deem proper; *third*, that Local Authorities and the State should ensure the provision of sufficient and healthful housing accommodation, by planning the development of towns with a due regard to the provision of open spaces, and by themselves undertaking the building of houses in those districts in which the supply is, or is likely to be, inadequate. Such a deliberate attempt to anticipate the requirements of a growing population seems to us the indispensable condition of a healthy social life

in an urban civilisation such as that of Great Britain. The urban population increases decade by decade. There is on the outskirts of most growing towns a belt of land which is unoccupied by houses, while those nearer to the centre are overcrowded. Yet, at the present time, in spite of the increased powers conferred upon them by the Housing and Town Planning etc., Act of 1909, it is still difficult for Local Authorities to provide for the needs of the future by buying land in advance of the demand, which can be held and built upon as need arises. We believe that, if the policy which we recommend were carried out, land would be brought more readily into the market; public bodies would be able to anticipate the housing requirements of their areas; house rents would be kept at a level which would not impose an excessive burden upon families of small means; and local revenues would be increased, as in many towns, both in foreign countries and in the Dominions, through the appreciation in the value of land caused by an increasing population. But we are not concerned merely, or even mainly, with the material benefits which would follow a resolute attempt to cope with the Housing Problem. Insufficient and insanitary housing is the source of moral weakness and spiritual degradation. It undermines the health of childhood, weakens the bonds of family life and impairs the comfort of old age. There are few more urgent duties for Christian men and women than to play their part in removing this great and inveterate evil from the life of the community.

(xviii.) *The Parish Priest.*

159. While the duty of witnessing to these principles and of promoting these reforms is shared by the whole Church, it is clear that a special responsibility is laid on the clergy. From whatever view their ministry is regarded, they may rightly be expected to take the lead in the application of the Christian Faith to social and industrial practice. To them, as priests, the ministry of reconciliation has been entrusted, and when men are really reconciled to God, they enter on that way of justice and love which leads to reconciliation among themselves. It is also evident that the two great Sacraments of the Gospel, of which as priests they are put in trust, speak of our fellowship one with another in Jesus Christ. As prophets they take their place in the long line which began with Amos and Isaiah, and if social righteousness is not part of their scheme they are false to the best traditions of their order. Doubtless there have been, and still are, prophets among the laity; and certainly there are good pastors who are not endowed with great prophetic gifts. But they have their special commission as ministers of the Word. They are teachers, if not prophets. They are bound to show the relation of Christian truth to vital

issues and the application of Christ's principles to the actual facts of our modern life.

160. They will certainly fail to do this unless they are interested in those issues and understand those facts. It is therefore of the first importance that as pastors they should possess the pastoral gift of intelligent sympathy with every class in the community where they are called to serve. Those clergy—and they are very numerous—who minister to working-class populations are bound to try to understand the aims and aspirations of the workers. If poverty and simplicity of life are a help to sympathy with those whose means are small, certainly most clergy possess that qualification, while there are numberless working-class families which count the parson their best friend. Nevertheless the opinion seems to be commonly held that the clergy—with some notable exceptions—are on the side of the capitalist classes. Plainly the clergy, from whatever grade of society they come, ought to be outside “class,” and to live in equal sympathy with all sorts of men and women. It is probably true that some of them find it difficult to shake themselves free from social and political prejudices previously acquired. But it is also true that here, as in many other cases, the memory of an unhappy past history lingers in the popular mind, and that the clergy of to-day are credited with the attitude of the clergy of a former generation. We are bound, however, to confess that the clergy as a whole have done far better work in the alleviation of degrading poverty than in the effort to prevent it, and there are cases where they are more interested in details of Church order than in the work of redemption and reconciliation for which the Church exists.

161. A few suggestions may be made. They lay no claim to novelty.

(i.) It is plainly desirable that the clergy should be drawn from every class, and that far more opportunities should be open for boys of the working class to receive that wide education and that special training which will qualify them for the ministry. Efforts already made in this direction show that such boys can become capable of ministering to all sorts of people without losing their sympathy with the special difficulties and problems of those from whom they spring. Such efforts should be greatly multiplied.

162. (ii.) It is difficult enough to add to the curriculum of the short training which most clergy at present receive. But some training in economic and social science is really of vital importance, and a knowledge of the industrial position might save some of the younger clergy from the fatal mistake of claiming authority by virtue of their office instead of winning authority by the effectiveness of their ministry to God and their service to men.

168. (iii.) If the clergy entered on their ministry with some knowledge of the facts of industrial life they would soon have ample opportunity of acquiring fresh knowledge in the school of practical experience. Doubtless there are many subjects the expert treatment of which should be left in the hands of the laity; it is, for example, only in rare instances that clergy can successfully act as mediators in trade disputes. On the other hand, the clergy and their fellow-workers have a priceless opportunity of acquiring a first-hand knowledge of urban conditions, and there can be no doubt that means should have been found for placing that knowledge at the service of the community. It ought, for example, to be possible for many clergymen to take a leading part in promoting well thought-out schemes of housing reform. They know where the present conditions are deficient, and if they give intelligent study to the subject, they should be well qualified to help in finding a remedy. Moreover, much which the clergy (or the greater number of them) are unable to do themselves they may most rightly press as duties upon lay people. This applies, for example, to the duty already referred to, of active participation in civic or municipal work, and of helping to give practical effect to legislative reforms by the supply of the voluntary effort necessary for their successful operation.
164. (iv.) It is probable that in many parishes the clergy ought to make a radical readjustment of their time and a reorganisation of their scheme of work. They need more time for prayer, for thought, and for personal contact with the men of their flock. If they are to obtain it, they must devolve upon the laity of the parish some of the details of the complicated machinery with which, at present, they are often overburdened.

(xix.) *Summary of Conclusions.*

165. We may now summarise the conclusions of this part of our Report :—

- (i.) The teaching of Christianity is binding upon men not only in their personal and domestic conduct, but in their economic activity and industrial organisation. It is the duty of the Christian Church to urge that considerations of Christian morality must be applied to all such social relationships.
166. (ii.) While it is evident that industrial relations are embittered by faults of temper and lack of generosity on the part of employers, employed, and of the general public also, an examination of the facts compels the conclusion that the existing industrial system makes it exceedingly difficult to carry out the principles of Christianity. The solution of the industrial problem involves, therefore, not merely the improvement of individuals, but a fundamental change in the spirit of the system itself.

167. (iii.) The fundamental evil of modern industrialism is that it encourages competition for private gain instead of co-operation for public service. This perversion of motive fosters :—

(a) An organisation of industry which treats the workers as hands rather than as persons, and which deprives them of the control which they may reasonably claim to exercise over the conditions under which they earn their livelihood.

(b) The absence of responsibility on the part of those employed for the permanent results of their industry and of human interest in the work which they do : evils which are intensified by the mechanical and monotonous character of many of the processes and duties required.

(c) A disposition on the part of some of those engaged in industry to seek their own advantage at the expense of the community by unduly limiting the output, raising the prices, or deteriorating the quality of the work which they perform.

(d) Conditions of poverty which do not arise from individual defects or from natural scarcity, but which exist side by side with excessive riches.

(e) An organisation of industry which creates a condition of insecurity among the workers and which makes their livelihood precarious and uncertain.

(f) An attitude of mutual antagonism and suspicion between the different parties engaged in industry.

168. (iv.) The conception of industry as a selfish competitive struggle is unchristian. Industry ought to be regarded primarily as a social service, based on the effort of every individual to discharge his duty to his neighbour and to the community.

169. (v.) The duty of service is equally obligatory upon all. There is no moral justification for the burden upon the community of the idle or self-indulgent, or for social institutions which encourage them, and no inherited wealth or position can dispense any member of the Christian society from establishing by work his claim to maintenance, on the principle laid down by St. Paul. Large expenditure on amusements and luxuries should be discouraged in all classes of society and wasteful habits should be condemned.

170. (vi.) The first charge upon every industry should be the payment of a sufficient wage to enable the worker to maintain himself and his family in health and honour, with such a margin of leisure as will permit reasonable recreation and the development of mind and spirit. Excessive hours of work should, therefore, be prevented, and overtime and Sunday labour should be reduced to a minimum.

171. (vii.) The principle of the living wage involves not only adequate payment during employment, but continuity of

employment. The deliberate casualisation of labour merely for the convenience of employers is strongly to be condemned. It is the duty of employers, of workers, and of the State to aim at substituting regular employment and wages for casual employment and wages. Provision should be made for the adequate maintenance of the worker during a time of industrial slackness by an extension of the system of insurance against unemployment and by any other means which may seem desirable.

172. (viii.) Profits in some industrial undertakings are excessive. There is no moral justification for profits which exceed the amount needed to pay adequate salaries to the management and a fair rate of interest on the capital invested, and to ensure the growth and development of the industry.
173. (ix.) After the charges on industry mentioned in (vi.), (vii.) and (viii.) have been met any surplus should be applied to the benefit of the whole community.
174. (x.) The past use of children as wealth producers stands condemned for folly and injustice, and in future the demands of industry should not be allowed to prevent any child from securing full opportunities of education as a human being and a citizen. The organisation of industry ought to aim at becoming such as to allow young persons (a) to attend school full time up to 15. and, ultimately, up to 16; (b) to spend, unless engaged in occupations which are themselves directly educational, not less than half their working time in continued school education between the age at which they cease full-time attendance at school and the age of 18.
175. (xi.) Experience suggests that unrestricted competition among workers and among employers tends to result in social degradation, and that trade associations, including all workers, both men and women, in each industry, and similar associations, including all employers, are the best foundation of mutual understanding, industrial peace, and social progress.
176. (xii.) It is desirable that those industries in which experience has shown organisation to be impossible or very difficult should be regulated by Trade Boards on the principle of the Trade Boards Act of 1909. Such Boards should have power to fix minimum rates of payment, maximum hours of labour, and such other conditions of employment as it may from time to time appear to them desirable to regulate.
177. (xiii.) It is desirable that the discussion in common of industrial questions and the collective settlement of industrial conditions should be widely extended, and that with this object :—

(a) It should be the normal practice in organised trades for representatives of employers and workers to confer at regular

intervals, not merely upon wages and working conditions, but upon all such questions affecting the trade as may be suitable for common discussion. The associations representing individual industries might be federated in a larger and more representative body—a national Industrial Parliament representing the statesmanship of all parties concerned in industry.

(b) Representatives of the workers in different workshops should be normally and permanently associated with the management in matters affecting their livelihood and comfort, and the welfare of the business, such as the fixing and alteration of piece-rates, the improvement of processes and machinery, and the settlement of the terms upon which they are to be introduced, workshop discipline and the establishment of the maximum possible security of employment.

(c) Every effort should be made to avoid all delay in the settlement of disputes.

(d) When the employer and employees in any individual industry fail to agree with regard to any matter in dispute, the disputed point should be referred to the Industrial Parliament, composed of representatives of all industries, for inquiry, report and decision.

178. (xiv.) In order to facilitate the provision by Local Authorities of such services as the inhabitants of different areas may require, Local Authorities should in future be free to undertake such services, subject to such central control and approval as may be needed to maintain efficiency and to check exorbitant borrowing.
179. (xv.) In order to secure the publicity which is essential to the realisation of social responsibility, the names and addresses of all owners of urban land and house property, and of all other persons having a legal interest in them, should be registered with the local Public Authority and should be accessible to the public.
180. (xvi.) In order to facilitate the orderly and healthful growth of towns Local Authorities ought to have power to acquire and hold land for such purposes as they may deem proper.
181. (xvii.) In order to discourage the withholding from the market of land in, or on the outskirts of, towns in a way which is contrary to the public interest, urban land, subject to adequate provision being made for open spaces, should be specially and heavily rated.
182. (xviii.) A large number of persons in Great Britain are at present housed under conditions which are a grave menace to their physical and moral well-being. It is the duty of the State and of Local Authorities to ensure the provision of sufficient and healthful housing accommodation :—

(a) By compulsorily acquiring and holding land, as stated above.

(b) By planning the development of towns with a due regard to the provision of open spaces.

(c) By themselves undertaking the building of houses in those districts in which the supply of houses is or is likely to be inadequate.

183. (xviii.) It is the duty of the clergy to teach the application of the Christian Faith to social and industrial practice. It is desirable, therefore—

(a) That they should acquaint themselves by every means in their power with the social aims and aspirations of those to whom they minister.

(b) That they should be drawn from all classes in the community, and that no boy who has a vocation for the ministry should be prevented by poverty from entering it.

(c) That the preparation of the clergy for the ministry should include a training in economic and social science.

(d) That the clergy should regard the maintenance by their example and precept of a high standard of citizenship and social morality as part of the duties of their office, and should, when practicable, take the initiative in promoting reforms.

(e) That they should consider the advisability of devolving upon the laity some of the duties of parochial administration which now fall upon them.

CHAPTER V.

EDUCATION

- (i.) Introductory.
- (ii.) The meaning of education.
- (iii.) The significance of education for Christians.
- (iv.) The importance of a liberal education for all.
- (v.) The physical welfare of children and young persons.
- (vi.) The training of the senses and the strengthening of character.
- (vii.) The educational ladder and the educational highway.
- (viii.) The need of a new attitude towards education.
- (ix.) The necessity for more generous public expenditure on education.
- (x.) The necessity of raising the remuneration and status of the teaching profession.
- (xi.) The reduction of the size of classes in elementary schools.
- (xii.) The lengthening of the period of full-time attendance at school.
- (xiii.) The establishment of compulsory continued education up to the age of 18.
- (xiv.) Rural continued education.
- (xv.) Non-vocational adult education.
- (xvi.) Religious adult education.
- (xvii.) Summary of conclusions.

(i.) *Introductory.*

184. In the preceding chapters of this Report we have stated the principles which, as we believe, should inspire the social life of a Christian community ; and, without entering upon exhaustive schemes of reform, we have indicated certain practical changes which we think necessary in order that those principles may receive a progressive application in the economic environment of our own day. It is evident, however, that no presentation of our subject would be complete which did not attempt, at least, to define the attitude incumbent upon Christians towards education. There are, no doubt, certain aspects of education with which Christians, with whatever sympathy they may regard them, nevertheless have, as Christians, no special concern. Knowledge, however valuable in itself, is neither the indispensable condition of a vigorous spiritual life nor the measure of its intensity. Those who, judged by merely intellectual standards, are ill-informed have often a profounder insight into spiritual issues than the learned, and nothing which is said in this chapter as to the importance of education

must be taken to imply that we overestimate the importance of intellectual acquisitions or undervalue those spiritual qualities which are often found, in their noblest form, in men and women who have had little opportunity of formal instruction.

185. But the mere accumulation of information is not education, and we do not think that in devoting to this subject a special chapter of our Report we shall incur a serious danger of being thought to exalt intellect at the expense of character, or to forget that the most potent influence for good in the lives of human beings is, and ought to be, the home. The antithesis between intellect and character is, indeed, something less than a half-truth, and if the home can do more for children than the best school, a good school can help the best home. If in a report concerned with the social principles of Christianity we speak at some length upon the subject of education, it is not in order to exaggerate the importance of intellectual culture, but to emphasise the wide diffusion, among all classes of the population, of capacities which await cultivation, and the duty of Christians to take part, according to their means, in securing that fuller opportunities of such cultivation are provided than exist at present. We omit all reference to the question of religious instruction in schools, not because we underestimate its importance, but because it will be considered, we understand, by the Committee on the Teaching Office of the Church.

(ii.) *The Meaning of Education.*

186. Education is a word of various connotations. But the object of the education considered in this Report is simple, though its methods may be as complex as educationalists like to make them. It is to assist human beings to become themselves. They cannot become themselves without an effort of mind and will, and the discipline by which that effort is stimulated and guided is education. Because they cannot become themselves in isolation from their fellows, education is a social thing. Because their fundamental human affinities are more important than their individual differences, education is the witness to equality. Because their complete development involves not blind or unreasoning obedience, but their intelligent co-operation in purposes which they themselves approve as good, education is the foundation of democracy. Education is, in short, the organised aid to the development of human beings in a society. In the words of Milton, it is "that which fits a man to perform, justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."*

* Milton, *Tractate on Education*.

(iii.) *The Significance of Education for Christians.*

187. Thus interpreted, education is a matter which should occupy a primary place in the thoughts and aspirations of all who are concerned for the application of Christian principles to social life. It can contribute much which will assist them: they can contribute much which will develop it. On the one hand, both the spiritual insight to grasp the significance of Christian teaching and the self-sacrificing devotion to apply it depend in the last resort upon the quickening of intelligence and ennoblement of character among individual men and women, which it is the special function of education to promote. On the other hand, the impulse to overcome the moral limitations, the intellectual apathy, and the material difficulties which at present prevent education from occupying its rightful position in the life of the community, should derive from the teachings of Christianity inexhaustible inspiration.
188. It is not implied, of course, that the predominant influence in the improvement of education in the modern world has been that of organised Christianity. The Churches have, indeed, done much to assist education, and its indebtedness in particular to the National Schools can hardly be overestimated. It should not be forgotten that for the greater part of the first half of the nineteenth century almost all the schools of the country were provided on its own initiative by the Church through the National Society, or by other religious bodies. But they have also done something to hinder it. This has no doubt been largely due to conflicts arising between the State and the Church, or the Church and the Nonconformists, over the control of religious instruction. Thus, if the first Education Bill introduced into the British Parliament was (as is often said) opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury* it must not be forgotten that he was at that time occupied in the foundation of the National Society which shortly covered the country with schools, and that if he opposed the Bill it was not because of its object (which he supported) but because he insisted on maintaining the authority of the National Church to control education in the interests of religion.† Nevertheless, Condorcet in one century, and Huxley in another, are a reminder that the impetus to educational improvement, though its motive has often been in essence a religious one, has also often come from men by whom Christianity was either repudiated or by whom it was but lightly held. The stream of educational

* Whitbread's Bill, introduced in 1807, which proposed to make it compulsory upon all parishes to provide two years' free schooling for the children of the poor out of the rates. It was rejected by the House of Lords. The Archbishop who opposed it was Manners-Sutton.

† See Parliamentary Debates. House of Lords. Tuesday, 23rd July, 1918. Vol. 80. No. 54. Speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

endeavour has been fed from several different sources. We desire neither to extenuate the shortcomings of some who have called themselves Christians, nor to underrate the services of some who have not.

189. But while it is true that the educational record of the Christian Churches is a chequered one, it is none the less true that the promotion and diffusion of education is a cause which ought to make a special appeal to all who accept as authoritative the ethical teaching of Christianity. The ultimate object of education is the development of personality, and on the sanctity of human personality the New Testament lays, as we have suggested in a previous chapter, peculiar stress. Each man is of supreme value in the sight of God, because all men are children of one Father, immortal spirits whom Christ has redeemed. The fruit of a wise system of education is to fit men for the unselfish service of their fellows, by teaching them to subordinate their individual ambitions to the common good. The duty of service, the obligation to bear one another's burdens, which springs from membership in a common society, and which is the foundation of citizenship both in the Church and in the State, lies at the very centre of Christian teaching. The gravest obstacle to the progress of education is the materialism which would subordinate the cultivation of human faculties to the exigencies, or alleged exigencies, of industry, which two generations ago condemned children of ten to inhuman toil in factories and mines, which still permits many thousand young persons to be stunted in body and mind by excessive and premature toil, and which regards the suggestion of increased educational expenditure as an inroad upon its riches or a menace to its comfort.
190. Against the temper, less common than it was, but still too powerful, which would postpone the things of the spirit to the pursuit of material gain, the warnings of the New Testament are constant and unmistakable. The Christian who considers the power to develop character and to stimulate capacity inherent in a generous system of education, and who reflects upon the condemnation passed by the New Testament on those who misuse the talents given by God or cause His children to offend, cannot be in doubt as to his duty. He is no more bound to be an educationalist than he is bound to enter any particular profession. He is bound to do his best to aid, according to his opportunity, the progress of education, because, after the Church, education is the most formal and public recognition of the claims of the spirit which the world has allowed. In ages in which the activities of the State were non-existent or but little developed the Church was itself the greatest, indeed the only, educational agency, and its influence was felt in many spheres of intellectual activity besides that of

instruction of a specifically religious character. Now that the provision of education has been undertaken by the State, it is the duty of the Churches, in addition to performing their special work of religious instruction, to insist that public education shall be as generous, both in conception and method, as the resources of the community can make it.

(iv.) *The Importance of a Liberal Education for All.*

191. While the teaching of Christianity, through the emphasis which it lays upon personality, should prepare the community to set a high value upon education, it also offers some criterion of the objects to which educational endeavour should be directed, and of the principles by which it should be guided.
192. (a) It suggests, in the first place, that the primary object of education must be a spiritual one. The Christian view of society is that men are first of all men, not animals, servants or tools. The first aim of education, therefore, must be to make, not more efficient workers, but better men, better citizens, and better Christians. Much emphasis is laid at the present time upon the contribution which education may make to productive efficiency, and we do not underestimate the importance of technical and professional training. But, valuable as such training is in its own sphere, it cannot, however highly it may be developed, relieve the community of the duty of cultivating through education those faculties of initiative, of judgment, and of intelligent sympathy with what is excellent in human achievement, which, because they are the attributes of man, are not distinctive of any class or profession of men. In particular, Christians cannot accept the view sometimes advanced which would regard a humane or liberal education as suitable only for those entering the professions, and which would estimate the success of the education offered to the great majority of the population by its ability to qualify them for more efficient labour in their various occupations. There must be diversity of educational methods because there are diversities of gifts. But the basis of differentiation should be differences of taste or of capacity, not differences of class or of income. The manual worker needs a liberal education for the same reason as the barrister or the doctor—that he may develop his faculties and play a reasonable part in the affairs of the community.
193. To lay the foundation for such an education should be the function of the elementary school, and it must not be diverted from its proper task by any desire for premature specialisation. Nor, indeed, is such specialisation likely to be successful even in promoting the economic efficiency for the sake of which it is sometimes advocated. We are in agreement, we think, with the majority of educationalists when we affirm that the only sound basis for technical training is the cultivation of mental

alertness, judgment, and a sense of responsibility by means of education of a general and non-utilitarian character. A nation which aims primarily at developing to the fullest possible extent the character and intellect of its citizens may find that material prosperity and commercial success are added to it. A nation which regards education primarily as a means of converting its members into more efficient instruments of production is likely not only to jeopardise its moral standards and educational ideals, but to discover that by such methods it cannot attain even the limited success at which it aims. The exhortation, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God,"* is one which has a special relevance to all who are engaged in the work of education.

(v.) *The Physical Welfare of Children and Young Persons.*

194. (b) The condition of a vigorous mind is normally a healthy body. If a line is to be drawn between the spiritual and material aspects of education, the cultivation of a sound physique lies on the spiritual side of it. In the second place, therefore, we think it important to emphasize the necessity of giving a prominent place in our conception of education to a matter which till recently has been neglected in England, and which, even at the present time, does not usually receive the attention which it deserves. We allude to the necessity of making adequate provision in the schools for the physical welfare and training of the children. It is evident that instruction and practice in the laws of health is in itself an important kind of education, and no intellectual training can be regarded as satisfactory which is not built upon the foundation of sound physical health. But in the case of a very large number of children attending the elementary schools of England and Wales that foundation does not at the present time exist. The annual reports of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, which summarise the results of the medical inspection carried out under the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907, give a tragic picture of the prevalence of ill-health among school children.

195. The revelation of preventible suffering and crippled capacity which is contained in the figures† published by the Board

* St. Matthew vi. 33.

† The following figures are taken from the *Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education for the year 1914* [Cd. 8055].

Percentage of certain defects among all children inspected (routine inspection only) as shown by the School Medical Officers' Reports for 1914 for 89 areas.

Defect.	Number inspected.	Number defective.	Per cent. defective.
Defective vision	76,126	8,055	10.58
Marked adenoids	266,664	8,744	1.40
Teeth (four or more) decayed ..	292,523	75,902	25.95
External-eye disease	307,382	7,826	2.55
Skin disease	291,900	5,775	1.98
Ringworm (head)	272,078	827	0.34

seems to us to be one of the gravest blots upon our national life. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the physical health of a considerable proportion of the community is being undermined in the years of childhood in which it ought to receive special attention, and that much of the educational effort expended in the elementary schools is wasted in a vain attempt to educate children who are not physically fit to profit by education, and who, before they can be instructed by a teacher, need the care of a doctor or of a nurse. Most of the ailments revealed by inspection are, the Chief Medical Officer of the Board assures us, curable, and it is satisfactory to observe the beneficial results which have accrued from the schemes of treatment which are being undertaken by an increasing number of Authorities.

196. But there are still a considerable number of Education Authorities who do not use, or use only very inadequately, the power to provide treatment conferred upon them by the Act of 1907.* Indeed, the Report † of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education shows that immediately prior to the war only just over one-half the children requiring medical care were known to be receiving it. In 1917 it was still possible

* Of 317 Education Authorities treatment of some form was undertaken in 1914 by 266, of which 179 provided treatment at school clinics. The ailments treated by different Authorities are shown in the following table :

Medical Treatment of School Children.

Number of areas making provision in 1914.

Condition.	Counties.	County Boroughs.	Boroughs.	Urban Districts.	Total.
Minor ailments ..	28	63	86	27	204
Dental defects ..	24	41	45	20	130
Defective vision ..	40	56	71	28	195
Provision of spectacles	24	49	60	32	165
Enlarged tonsils and adenoids	14	25	34	10	83
Ringworm (X-ray)	10	31	15	12	68

(Board of Education. *Annual Report for 1914 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, 1915.* [Cd. 8055.])

† The proportion of remediable defects adequately dealt with in 59 representative areas was as follows :—

Condition.	Number found in need of treatment.	Number treated.	Number remedied.	Percentage treated.	Percentage remedied.
Diseases of nose and throat	17,948	7,990	4,683	44.5	26.1
External eye diseases ..	4,645	3,820	2,562	82.2	55.1
Skin diseases	7,962	7,021	5,885	88.1	74.0
Defective vision and squint	21,764	11,039	10,120	50.7	46.5

[Cd. 8055.]

for the Chief Medical Officer of the Board to state in his Annual Report that only 58 per cent. of the children proved to be ailing received treatment. "Less than half of the Authorities," he writes, "have made any attempt whatever to provide dental treatment, and, with one or two exceptions, the provision made by the 146 Authorities" (who do provide it) "is wholly inadequate. There are still approximately 100 Authorities which have done nothing for minor ailments or defective vision, and 200 have done nothing for diseases of the ear and of the throat. Yet for nine years there has been a steady flow of incontrovertible evidence of the prevalence of these maladies."*

197. Now that experience has shown both the urgent necessity of medical treatment and the beneficial results which have followed upon its provision, it seems to us that the community ought no longer to allow the health and education of the rising generation to be imperilled by the neglect of a minority of apathetic or parsimonious Education Authorities. We think, therefore, that the provision of adequate facilities for medical treatment should cease to be optional, and should be made one of the statutory obligations imposed, like the provision of sufficient school places, upon all Public Authorities administering elementary education. Further, steps should be taken by Local Education Authorities to establish nursery schools for children over two and under five years of age, and the number of open-air schools for specially delicate children, from which very beneficial results have already accrued, should be largely increased. When circumstances demand it Local Authorities should make full use of their powers under the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906. "Defective nutrition," in the words of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board, "stands in the forefront as the most important of all physical defects from which school children suffer."

(vi.) *The Training of the Senses and the Strengthening of Character.*

198. (c) The conception of education which is prevalent requires, in the third place, to be broadened by a larger interpretation which will include under education much besides the formal instruction of the classroom. We have emphasised the importance of safeguarding the ideal of a liberal education for all children against the danger of excessive or premature specialisation. But, in order to be liberal, education need not necessarily be bookish. The test of it is not the subject which is studied, but the spirit of the student and of the teacher, and the purpose with which study is carried on. If the specialisation which would subordinate the child to economic exigencies is

* Board of Education, *Annual Report for 1916 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education*, 1917 [Cd. 8746].

mischievous, the specialisation which aims at adapting education as closely as possible to the needs of individual children deserves nothing but praise.

199. We believe that the natural avenue to the minds of a large number of children lies not through books, but through some kind of creative work, and that they learn most when they are engaged in some activity which so absorbs them that they forget that they are learning. If this view is a sound one, then the encouragement of forms of education which are practical, in the sense, not of aiming at results other than the development of the child, but of awakening his mind and forming his character through the use of the hand, the eye, and the ear, is at least as important as formal instruction of a literary or scientific character. It is important for all classes alike, for the children of the well-to-do as well as for the children of poorer parents. The object of manual work in the elementary schools, to give one example of our meaning, is no more to make children efficient workers in industry than the object of singing is to enable them to earn their living as musicians. It is to develop their faculties and, in particular, the faculties of those children who are sometimes thought to be dull or backward, because they do not respond readily to the stimulus of a literary education.
200. Wisely directed by sympathetic teachers, it should do more than this. It should do something to overcome the divorce between art and labour which is one great obstacle to the humanising of industry. The statement that English people are lacking in æsthetic sense, if true at all, is true only with large qualifications. Music was at one time a popular art in England, and there are parts of the country where the delight in music finds a spontaneous expression in choral singing and musical societies. But it is profoundly true that our educational system neglects one great instrument, perhaps the greatest instrument, of true education, because it makes little or no appeal to the instincts of the craftsman. The senses are the gift of God as truly as is the reason, and the intellectualism which neglects altogether to cultivate them is as unchristian as the materialism which cultivates nothing else. To starve the appeal of form and colour is to empty life of beauty and to provoke a reaction which seeks not beauty, but excitement. We believe that the natural culture of many children is some form of artistic or creative work, as the natural culture of others is science or literature. To divorce education from the natural tastes of a considerable proportion of the children is to sterilise the former and brutalise the latter. It is to make it as impotent for good as a religion which is reserved for Sundays. It is only in so far as it is intimately related with the ordinary interests of mankind that education will either

become the expression which it ought to be, of popular ideals, or give the inspiration to a better social life which, rightly used, it is able to convey.

201. The cultivation of a taste for craftsmanship is one way in which education may be made more stimulating, because in one form or another it appeals to all children and is intimately connected with their interests. But it is only one way. Another line of advance is to be found in the encouragement, through the agency of the schools, of interests which may bring the children into closer contact both with nature and with the noble records of human achievement, and in the development of a strong corporate life and of habits of self-government. Something is already being done in both these directions. On the one hand, an increasing number of rural schools have school gardens attached to them, and there is a growing habit of taking parties of children on visits to picture galleries, and to other places of interest. On the other hand, the children in certain schools have been encouraged by their teachers to undertake co-operative enterprises, and to take a large share in the maintenance of discipline and good order in school. We cannot doubt that if our national system of education is to realise its full potentialities of good for the community, far more attention must be given in the future than has been given hitherto to the discovery of the ways in which children may not merely acquire knowledge, but may develop a capacity for employing their leisure in reasonable and humanising pursuits, which will remain with them when their school days are over, and above all may train themselves through the corporate life of their school in the art of self-government.
202. In certain schools, such as the Little Commonwealth for delinquent children at Dorchester, or the school of which a charming picture was given in Mr. Holmes's book, "What is and what might be,"* that ideal has already been realised. In order that it may be realised more generally, there is required not only the sympathy with it on the part of Education Authorities and of teachers, which is becoming, we are glad to think, increasingly common, but a far more generous expenditure upon education, corresponding to the more generous interpretation of its meaning, which has been given above. There must be more teachers, and better paid teachers, and teachers with far more leisure than is allowed to them at present. There must be school gardens and large playgrounds or playing fields attached to every school. There must be opportunities for physical training and for organised games. Reproductions of good pictures and school libraries must be more generally provided for the schools. The schools themselves might with advantage change their appearance. To

* 1911 (Constable).

erect buildings less audaciously frightful than most urban elementary schools are to-day would probably not be more expensive, and would certainly be more in accordance with the spirit of education.

(vii.) *The Educational Ladder and the Educational Highway.*

203. (d) In the fourth place, we think it important to point out that the aim of education must be not merely to offer special opportunities to those who are specially gifted, but to provide for all members of the community the education needed to develop their personality and to fit them for social life, irrespective of their social class, income, or occupation. It is necessary to emphasise this point, because it is one which is apt to be overlooked in current discussions of education. It is still sometimes suggested that the main function of higher education is to provide intensive cultivation for those children who have unusual powers, and that the community will have discharged its duty in the matter of education when it has enabled the exceptionally brilliant or enterprising child to climb what is called the educational ladder.
204. We do not underestimate the importance of offering special opportunities to special capacity. The inadequacy of such opportunities at the present time is at once wasteful from the point of view of the community, and unjust to the children of the working-classes. On the one hand it deprives the nation of the services of some of its ablest sons and daughters. On the other hand, it prevents the children of poor parents from entering occupations for which they may be peculiarly fitted, and indeed from even discovering what their special aptitudes are. Figures supplied by the Board of Education to the Royal Commission on the Civil Service show that of the children who every year leave the elementary schools of England less than 5 per cent. enter secondary schools,* and that probably far less than 1 per cent. ultimately pass to Universities. Of those who do enter secondary schools the majority leave before they reach the age of 16 and only a small proportion remain† at school beyond the age of 17, with the result that, owing to the extreme weakness of secondary education in its higher ranges, the Universities draw for their students upon quite an

* The total population of the secondary schools recognised by the Board of Education is extremely small. As the following figures (*Board of Education Report of Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment, 1917* [Cd. 8512]) show :—

12-13	13-14	14-15	15-16	16-17	17-18
82,709(4.68%)	36,455(5.28)	30,722(4.47)	20,628(3.08)	11,522(1.71)	4,905(0.74)

† The *Report of the Board of Education, 1914-15* [Cd. 8274] shows that out of 180,507 in secondary schools on October 1st, 1914, under 15,000 were 16 years of age or over.

insignificant proportion of the population. The main reason both why so small a proportion of elementary school children pass to secondary schools, and why the school life of most secondary school students is prematurely curtailed, is the inability of the parents to maintain them at school. It is not simply a question of school fees, though it is true that fees are often a serious obstacle. It is that working-class parents with several children are unable to dispense with the earnings of the elder children unless they are to risk allowing the younger children to be underfed. Something has been done to overcome the financial difficulties which hamper the higher education of working-class children by the expenditure of Local Authorities upon maintenance allowances and scholarships. That expenditure amounted immediately before the war to just over £400,000, of which five-eighths was devoted to the remission of fees, and three-eighths to maintenance.* We think that the expenditure under the former head, both in connection with secondary schools and Universities, ought to be largely increased, so that no child should be debarred from the education for which it is qualified by intellect and character, owing merely to the financial disabilities of its parents.

205. The creation of more abundant educational opportunities for exceptional ability is, however, only one of the objects at which educational reformers should aim, and not, in our eyes, the most important object. It is, we think, even more essential to secure that all children should have the degree of education needed for full personal development and for good citizenship than it is to provide cultivation for the specially brilliant. The ideal expressed by the phrase, "the educational ladder," is at best incomplete, and at worst a glorification of what may sometimes be a selfish individualism. We think we are right in saying that the opinion of working people themselves has always been in favour of such an educational spirit and organisation as would aim at raising the whole level of society rather than at merely offering special opportunities of advancement to exceptional individuals. The two ideals, which we may call that of the ladder and that of the highway, are not, indeed, necessarily inconsistent with each other. The higher the general level of culture in any society, the more likely it is to appreciate the desirability of giving special cultivation to peculiar ability: the greater the opportunities of intensive education open to individuals, the more certain will the community be of securing from its members the best service which they are capable of offering. But we feel bound to emphasise the idea of social solidarity as the basis of a right educational system, both because it is most in danger of being overlooked,

* *Board of Education Interim Report of the Consultative Committee on Scholarships for Higher Education, 1916* [Cd. 8291].

and because it is that most consonant to the reference of a committee concerned with the social principles of Christianity. We agree with the sentiment expressed in the Report of the Board of Education for the year 1915-16: "The needs of the nation cannot be satisfied by changes affecting higher education only, or by provision of educational facilities confined to scholars of special gifts and abilities."*

206. It is not enough, therefore, that an increased number of children should be transferred from elementary schools to secondary schools, in which classes are smaller, teachers more numerous, equipment more generous, and opportunities for recreation more abundant. We desire the elementary schools attended by all children to be better staffed, better equipped, more truly conducive to mental and moral development and physical health. It is not enough that a certain proportion of specially gifted children should receive continued education during the years of adolescence. We desire that all young persons should receive continued education, because all have minds which need cultivation and bodies which need invigorating recreation. It is not enough that a certain proportion of working-class children should pass more easily than at present to the Universities. We desire that the opportunity of obtaining the highest kind of education should be brought within reach of all who have the wish and the capacity to take advantage of it, because all are citizens and all are worthy of the most generous care that the community is able to spend upon the education of its children. It is the teaching of Christianity that society is one, and that the whole body suffers wrong through the ignorance or mal-development of the humblest of its members.

(viii.) *The Need of a New Attitude towards Education.*

207. The principles which we have laid down—that education should be liberal and not prematurely specialised, that it should include care for the physical welfare and development of children, that it should cultivate children by practical work as well as by more formal instruction and should strengthen their character through participation in the corporate life of a school, that it should aim not merely at selecting individuals for intensive culture but at raising the moral and intellectual level of the whole society—are such, we think, as should make a special appeal to those who accept the social teaching of Christianity. If they are to receive effective application, there must, it is evident, be certain changes both in the national estimate of the importance of education and in the educational system itself. There must, in short, be a new attitude towards

* [Cd. 8594].

education on the part of the nation, and a new spirit in the educational system.

(ix.) *The Necessity for more generous Public Expenditure on Education.*

208. (a) In the first place, then, the community must be prepared to spend upon education a far larger proportion of its total income than it spends at present. We are aware that the education rate already presses heavily upon certain districts, and a readjustment of the sources from which money for education is derived is, no doubt, desirable. But there ought, we are convinced, to be a large increase in the educational expenditure of the nation. The parsimony with which education has hitherto been treated in Great Britain, both by Local Authorities and by the Central Government, has inflicted grave injury upon the character and intellect of the rising generation, and the materialism which it expresses and helps to perpetuate is more mischievous than that parsimony itself. The nation ought to class education among the most important of the demands upon its resources. It ought not to consider what it can spare for education when other needs have been met. It ought to consider what can be spared for other needs when adequate provision has been made for education. In this matter it should have the courage to be called extravagant. It should aim at showing in its expenditure upon education something of the temper which inspired the far less opulent societies of the Middle Ages to the splendid prodigality of their churches and cathedrals, the memories of an age which, though poor in material comforts, was not too poor to spend with ardent profusion upon the things of the spirit. The foundation of all wealth and prosperity consists, indeed, of individual men and women, and a nation is no more likely to impoverish itself by cultivating its children than it is to do so by cultivating its land. But, though education is the most remunerative of all investments, it is not mainly upon that ground that the demand for increased expenditure should be based. Expenditure upon education should be generous, because to spend meanly upon education is to foster the false estimate of moral values which attaches more importance to material comfort than to the development of personality.

(x.) *The necessity of raising the Remuneration and Status of the Teaching Profession*

209. (b) The second condition of educational progress is a far keener public appreciation of the dignity and importance of the teaching profession, the outward expression of which must be better salaries, better training, and a higher status for the teacher. The gross under-payment of large numbers of teachers

which has prevailed hitherto not only is unjust to a devoted body of public servants, but also is disastrous to the higher interests of the children and of the community. To cause the teachers to be undervalued is to cause education to be undervalued. And a better system of training is as important as better payment. The success of the teachers in coping with the difficulties with which they are confronted in the elementary schools has been astonishing, and the enthusiasm which they show for their work, often amid very discouraging circumstances, is beyond praise. But it is no reflection upon the teachers to say that the circumstances in which some of them are prepared for their future profession are not always those best calculated to give them breadth of interest or a sympathetic understanding of the problems with which they will be confronted. They are often over-worked during their period of training and have too little opportunity of that personal contact with men and women of different types and interests which is not the least valuable part of a University education. We consider that the arrangement at which the nation should aim is that as large a proportion of teachers as possible should study at Universities, and that their purely professional training should be obtained in the last year of the University course. But this is an ideal for the future. In the meantime there is a great deficiency in the supply of teachers both for elementary schools and for the purpose of the continued education of which we speak below. It is desirable that Christians who realise the importance of education should do all in their power to overcome the difficulty, both by urging that a higher status be given to the teaching profession, and by inspiring others, especially their own children, to enter it.

(xi.) *The Reduction of the size of Classes in Elementary Schools.*

210. (c) However much the remuneration and status of the teachers may be improved, elementary education will continue to be relatively ineffective as long as the teacher is required to cope with classes of the size existing in many elementary schools at the present time. The third change which is necessary to the progress of education is a reduction in the sizes of classes to not more than 40, and ultimately to not more than 30 children. It is obviously impossible, in the great majority of subjects, for a teacher to maintain in a class of 50 to 70 children the close personal contact with each individual which is the essence of education. Nor is an improvement of educational methods on the lines suggested in Section (vi.) of this chapter practicable, unless the number of children in the care of each teacher is largely reduced. It may be possible to teach English grammar to 60 children simultaneously: it is certainly not possible to give teaching in handicraft to

a class of more than 25. But this point has been so constantly emphasised that we need not dwell upon it. The main obstacles to the reduction in the size of classes are the shortage of teachers and the increased financial outlay which would be involved in it. If, as we have suggested, the prospects and status of the teachers are improved and the secondary school population largely increased by a generous provision of scholarships and maintenance allowances, the deficiency of teachers will, in time, it is reasonable to hope, be overcome.

(xii.) *The Lengthening of the Period of Full-time Attendance at School.*

211. (d) The fourth change in the national system of education for which Christian men and women should press is the lengthening of the period of compulsory full-time attendance at school. It is, we think, commonly assumed that the majority of children continue in attendance at school until they reach 14 years of age. But this assumption is, unfortunately, erroneous. Whether children remain at school till 14 years of age depends upon the bye-laws of the Authority whose schools they attend. We need not go into the technicalities of the highly intricate law of school attendance. But we would point out that Authorities have power to grant exemptions from full-time attendance, which make serious inroads upon the later years of the educational life of a large proportion of the child population. Partial exemption for the purpose of employment in agriculture begins at 11. Under the partial exemptions granted at 12, about 80,000 children at any one time (probably about 60,000 in the course of the year) are employed in the textile industries of Lancashire and of West Yorkshire. A large number of children cease altogether to attend school at, or soon after, their thirteenth birthday.
212. It is sometimes said that all but an inconsiderable number of children continue school attendance to the age of 14. But the latest report upon the subject, that of the Board of Education Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War, states that the proportion of children remaining at school till they are 14 "cannot be more than 66 per cent. or less than 12 per cent.; if we place it at 50 per cent., the conjecture will probably not be far from the truth." In view of the developments which have taken place since the war, this estimate is probably somewhat too optimistic. Bye-laws have been relaxed since 1914, and the proportion of children permitted partial exemption at 11 and 12, and full-time exemption at 13, has been increased. It is stated that in some areas the war will have had the effect of creating a generation of illiterates. There is only too much reason to

fear that in many districts it has been fought at the expense of the health and education of the rising generation.

213. The premature cessation of full-time attendance at school which obtains at present is seriously to be deprecated on more grounds than one. It prevents some not inconsiderable part of the expenditure on elementary education from bearing its full fruit, since the children leave school just at the age when they are beginning to derive most benefit from their education. It is deleterious both to their physical and mental development. Children of 12 are not physically fit to bear the double strain of spending in the same week 30 hours in the factory and $12\frac{1}{2}$ in the school, or $25\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the factory and 15 in the school, imposed upon them by what has been officially described as the "detestable system" of half-time. Nor is it right that children of 14 should cease their education in order to work for $55\frac{1}{2}$ hours and 60 hours under the Factory and Workshops Acts, or for 70 or 80 hours in those occupations in which the working day is not regulated by law.

214. The temporary relaxation of local bye-laws for the special purpose of the present emergency will, no doubt, terminate at the end of the war. Further, under the Education Act which has just become law, all exemptions from full-time attendance under the age of 14 are to be abolished. We warmly welcome that measure, and we hope that it may prepare the way for further educational reforms. The age of compulsory full-time attendance ought, we think, to be raised in the near future to 15, and ultimately to 16 years. Further, all employment by way of trade or for purposes of gain of children who are under a legal obligation to attend school full time should be abolished. Under the Employment of Children Act* of 1903, Local Authorities have power to make bye-laws regulating the employment of the large number of children who are engaged in some form of work before or after school hours. But prior to the war only 98 out of 329 Authorities had made use of their powers of regulating the general employment of children,† and the bye-laws, even when made, are extremely difficult to administer effectively. No doubt there are certain forms of employment which are comparatively harmless. But experience has shown that on the whole it is undesirable to allow children of school age to be employed for purposes of gain out of school hours. "A very large number of children," states the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education in his last Report, "are being prematurely employed. . . . The physical injury which manifests itself is insidious and in-

* Since amended by the Education Act, 1918.

† *Child Labour and Education : During the War and After*, 1915 (Workers' Educational Association).

conspicuous, but far-reaching.”* We are of opinion, therefore, that such employment should be prohibited.

215. Apart from the difficulty of securing the necessary increase in the supply of school teachers, which can be overcome only by raising the general status and remuneration of the profession, there are two main objections which may be made to these proposals. It is urged on the one hand that to raise the age of compulsory full-time attendance at school is to impose an excessive burden upon the poorer parents, and, on the other hand, that it will involve in difficulties those industries which at present rely very largely upon juvenile labour. The first objection is a serious one, and we do not desire to minimise it. It is undoubtedly the case that a considerable number of families are engaged in a perpetual struggle against poverty, which makes the temptation to supplement the income of the parent by the earnings, however small, of children who ought to be at school almost irresistible. But this sacrifice of children to the necessities of their parents, this accumulation upon the shoulders of the rising generation of the economic burdens of the present, is precisely one of those features in our social life against which Christians ought unceasingly to protest. They must break the vicious circle which binds ignorance to poverty and poverty to ignorance, which causes the educational development of one generation to be neglected because its parents were poor, and the next generation to be poor partly because its educational development has been neglected. If the wages of parents are too low to allow of their children attending school up to 16 years without undue sacrifice, the rate of wages, as we have stated in a previous chapter, should be raised to a level which will enable them to make provision for this as for other necessary matters. In any case, it is the duty of Christians, working through the State, to prevent the children suffering either through the curtailment of their education or through premature work. If wages cannot be raised immediately to the requisite level, and in cases where parents require assistance, the community should extend the provision of maintenance allowances so as to enable the children to make full attendance without the infliction of undue hardship either upon them or upon the parents.

216. The second objection to raising the age of full-time attendance, that certain industries require for their prosperity supplies of cheap juvenile labour, is one which stands, we think, upon a different footing of importance. It is obviously impossible for us to go in detail into the probable economic effects of diminishing the number of children working in industry, though it may be pointed out that the previous anticipations of

* Board of Education, *Annual Report for 1916 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education*, 1917 [Cd. 8746].

disastrous reactions from raising the school age have been falsified by experience, and that the economic prosperity of the nation has not been perceptibly retarded by the growth of the restrictions on employment imposed in the interest of education since the Act of 1870. The burden of proof would appear to rest upon those who argue that industry will be jeopardised by a more thorough system of education, not upon those who hold that a more thorough education will stimulate all healthy kinds of national activity, and among them industry. But, whatever the temporary economic consequences of raising the age of compulsory full-time attendance, the principle for which Christian men and women should stand is clear. It is that the welfare of the children must not be subordinated to economic exigencies. They must persuade the nation, in so far as it is not already persuaded, that it ought not to value its schools because they supply workers for its factories, but that it ought to value its factories partly because they produce the wealth which may make possible better schools.

(xiii.) *The Establishment of Compulsory Continued Education up to the age of 18.*

217. (c) Even if the age of full-time attendance is raised to 16, still more if it is raised only to 14 or 15, it will still remain necessary to consider ways of submitting the critical years of adolescence to some kind of educational control. The fifth reform which, we think, should be urged by Christians is the establishment of a system of compulsory continued, or part-time secondary, education from the age at which full-time attendance at school ceases to that of 18. The Committee on Juvenile Education, in view of immediate difficulties occasioned, amongst other things, by the anticipated shortage of teachers, found themselves able only to recommend that eight hours be taken for continued education out of the actual working week. The time which it is desirable to give to continued education must vary, no doubt, according to the different conditions and needs of different industries. But we think that the hours of attendance should be increased as soon as possible, and that the goal to be aimed at, if children are to attain their full potentialities of educational development, is that in all occupations, except those which are directly educational, not less than half the working week should be spent in continued education. During the past ten years much evidence* has been accumulated which suggests that the seeds of social

* Chapter IV. of this Report, Section (xii.); Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress, *Majority and Minority Reports*, 1909; Board of Education Report of Consultative Committee on Attendance, Compulsory or Otherwise, at Continuation Schools, 1909 [Cd. 4757]; Board of Education Report of Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War, 1917 [Cd. 8512].

demoralisation, of economic incapacity, of intellectual and physical deterioration, are sown during the period of adolescence, in which a large majority of children escape altogether from any kind of educational supervision. Evening schools have done something to keep alive the intellectual interests aroused in the elementary schools. But they touch only an insignificant proportion of the whole child population. More than 75 per cent. of all the children in England and Wales between the ages of 14 and 18 are officially stated to be receiving no kind of continued school education whatever.* Of those who enter the evening schools a large proportion cease attendance before the completion of a single term. Of those who continue in attendance a large proportion is too exhausted after a working day of from 8 to 10 hours to derive more than a trifling benefit from the education that is offered them.

218. This neglect of young persons during what is often the most critical period of their lives is fraught with grave danger both to them and to the whole community. The evils which it creates cannot be overcome merely by measures which aim, like the provision of scholarships, at facilitating the entry of specially able children into secondary schools and Universities, however desirable those measures may be upon other grounds. What is required is not merely to offer special opportunities to selected individuals, but to raise the educational level of the whole child population. The right principle is simple. It is that up to the age of 18 boys and girls should be regarded primarily, not as wage-earners, but as potential parents and potential citizens, that education rather than industry should absorb their best energies, and that their employment should not be allowed to hamper their education. If this ideal is to be realised it is essential that continued education should take place in the day, not in the evening after a full day's work, that it should be subtracted from, not added to,

* *Board of Education Report of Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War, 1917* [Cd. 8512]. The figures given in that Report are as follow :—

	13-4	14-5	15-6	16-7	17-8
Young persons receiving education (full time or part time) in some Institution recognised by the Board	520,437 (75%)	194,386 (28%)	123,552 (18%)	98,078 (14%)	76,845 (11%)
Difference between above figure and the number of persons enumerated in the Census of 1911 ..	170,295 (24%)	492,869 (71%)	546,419 (81%)	574,896 (85%)	589,890 (88%)

the hours of employment in industry. Its primary object should be to strengthen the body, to develop the mind, and to lay the intellectual and moral foundations of good citizenship. It should not, therefore, be too narrowly specialised to meet industrial requirements, and should include abundant opportunities for organised games and physical training. But it might well be adapted to arouse interest in the different conditions and problems of different industries and districts, and its vocational bias would naturally be increased in the later years of school attendance to meet the needs of those children who will enter an industry requiring specialised technical qualifications. Juvenile Advisory Committees and Choice of Employment Committees, by keeping in close touch both with the parents and with the teachers of such continuation schools, would be in a position to assist children to find work in the occupations for which they were best adapted.

(xiv.) *Rural Continued Education.*

219. It must not be supposed that it is only in the towns that such a system of continued education is necessary. Rural life has, no doubt, special features and problems of its own; but they should cause the education given to country children to be of the kind suited to their special environment, not to be less thorough or continuous than that given in the towns. The child with a gift for literature or scholarship should, of course, have as full opportunities of cultivating it in rural as in urban schools; to be born in the country is not necessarily to have a taste for country pursuits. But some of the subjects chosen as a vehicle of education might well be different, though the object of education would be the same, and the periods of school attendance could be arranged to meet the peculiar needs of the agricultural industry, without involving the maintenance of a lower educational standard in villages than in cities. Special care should be taken to select for the rural continuation school teachers who have experience of the conditions of village life, and who are interested in its problems. The fullest use should be made of practical work to awaken the minds of the children to the principles underlying the common processes of nature. They should be encouraged to form school co-operative societies, and to learn by experiment as much as from the formal instruction of the teacher. The object of rural continued education would be, in short, not so much to produce skilled agriculturists, as to create in children a love and comprehension of rural life by revealing the abundant stores of moral and intellectual inspiration which are contained in every countryside. The school should be the intellectual expression of the rural community, focusing its traditions, its culture, and its intelligence, and sending back to it men and women who will

find happiness in the life of a countryman, and take a pride in fostering rural progress.

(xv.) *Non-vocational Adult Education.*

220. (f) If all young persons maintain their contact with education up to the age of 18, it may reasonably be hoped that the number of men and women with a taste and capacity for studies of an advanced character will be largely increased. A further improvement in our educational system which Christians should labour to promote is a great extension of all kinds of adult education. We have hitherto confined ourselves almost entirely to the problems incidental to child and adolescent life. But the successful solution of these problems will contribute largely to the development of enthusiasm for study on the part of grown men and women. We cannot insist too strongly that education has never been, and cannot be, confined to the opening years. It is a process which persists throughout life. We desire, therefore, to urge the development throughout the country, in town and village, of an adequate provision of adult classes constructed to meet the needs and characteristics of experienced men and women. As befits our reference, we would lay emphasis upon the persistent study of industrial and economic problems, and whilst we would urge all citizens fitted by temperament and capacity to take advantage of the facilities for study, we would specially urge attendance upon Christians, in order that they may not be remiss in understanding the industrial problems of the time.
221. It is sometimes implied that education of the kind supplied by the Universities can be offered with advantage only to those who have continued their full-time education up to the age of 18, and who are then prepared to spend three or four years in continuous study at a University. This suggestion is, we are convinced, erroneous. In addition to the young persons who, having passed through a secondary school, desire to study full time in a University preparatory to entering a profession, there are an even larger number of adult men and women who desire education of the type obtained in Universities in order to enlarge their minds and to fit themselves better for the duties of citizenship. They seek it, not so much for the purpose of self-advancement, as in order to put it at the service of their fellows, in their various movements and organisations. This demand for higher education on the part of adult men and women has grown rapidly during the last ten years, and in our opinion it is of urgent importance that it should be met. The aim of educational reform must not merely be to establish such equality of opportunity that the children of the working classes may find it as easy as the children of the well-to-do to pass to the Universities and to enter such professions as they

- may choose, but to enable those who will remain workmen to be as well educated as those who will enter the professions. There ought, in fact, to be more than one road to education of a University character. It should be easily accessible, not merely to those who have spent some years in a full-time secondary school, but also to those who have entered the factory or workshop, and who will continue to work there.
222. Provided that the financial difficulties accompanying adult education can be overcome, such an ideal is not an impracticable one. Practical experience of industrial life and of the problems involved in it is in itself a very valuable education. Classes of adults for the study of humane subjects are conducted to-day by various organisations in many different parts of the country. The tutorial classes, to give only one example, organised in connection with the different Universities, which include several thousand adult students, constitute a system of extra-mural University education which is capable of almost indefinite expansion. In our opinion, it ought to be possible for any group of adult students who give guarantees of serious and continuous work, and who are willing to be inspected, to receive financial assistance from the local University, the Local Authority, and the State. If such assistance were sufficiently generous, there is no reason why a large body of adult students, forming in all essentials a local college with a continuous and expanding corporate life, should not spring up in every town, and, indeed, in a large number of villages.

(xvi.) *Religious Adult Education.*

223. (g) Such an extension of adult education would exercise an incalculable influence for good upon the moral and intellectual life of the whole community. The subjects studied would naturally be those chosen by the students themselves, and there is no need for us to discuss them here. There is one subject, however, to which we feel bound to make special allusion. There is growing evidence among adults of an interest in, and desire for, the study of religion, which, we think, it is most important should be met. On the one hand it would contribute to the better understanding and wiser discussions of subjects of supreme importance. On the other hand it would enable men who feel a call to the ministry to begin their preparation for it while continuing their ordinary occupations. It is eminently desirable that candidates for Holy Orders should be drawn from all classes of the community, and that they should not necessarily be required to sever themselves from the persons and surroundings of their earlier life, as is almost unavoidable if they pass through a full-time secondary school to a University and then to a Theological College. The

vast majority of their parishioners will consist of working people. The larger the proportion of ministers who have led the ordinary life, and pursued the ordinary occupations, of working people, the more effectively will the message of the Church to men be delivered. In the words of the striking letter from the vicar of a large industrial parish which we print in an Appendix,* "We clergy, with our public schools and Universities behind us, look at political and social questions from a different angle from that of the vast mass of the working class. . . . I am urging most strongly the importance of removing the difficulties which stand in the way of a working-class ministry, for I believe that this would mean the removal of much of the suspicion with which the industrial classes regard the Church, and would result in the infusion of a new and strengthening element in the ministry of the Church." While recognising that the subject is a large one, upon which we cannot do more than touch in this Report, we think that the establishment of classes for adults interested in the study of religion, which might profitably be attached to Universities or Theological Colleges, and thus obtain expert assistance, would contribute directly to a deeper understanding of spiritual questions and indirectly to the preparation of working-men candidates for Holy Orders.

(xvii.) *Summary of Conclusions.*†

224. We may now summarise the conclusions of this part of our Report :—

(i.) It is the duty of Christian men and women to assist in every way open to them the advancement of education and the removal of the obstacles which impede it.

225. (ii.) The primary object of educational effort should be to lay the foundations of a broad and liberal culture, not to give specialised vocational training.

* See p. 138.

† We are aware, of course, that the reforms indicated will necessitate such a re-adaptation of finance and of industrial methods as to make it inevitable that in large part they must be introduced gradually, though not necessarily slowly. If they are successfully undertaken, we are confident that any consequent dislocation or financial expenditure will be more than neutralised by the results following upon the increased power and vitality of the community, the necessary concomitant of developed education. Moreover, it must be remembered that we are only on the threshold of the development of the art of education, and it is only by generous experiment that we can discover more fully its potentialities. To the criticism that our present educational system is in some respects unsatisfactory, the answer is that more liberal expenditure, both of money and of thought, on education will itself in time yield the experience needed to remedy existing deficiencies. The school of to-day is a vast improvement on that of 1870. The school of to-morrow, if we have the faith to turn our full energy into its creation, will be an even greater improvement on that of to-day.

226. (iii.) Care for the physical welfare of children and young persons is an indispensable part of their education. It should, therefore, be the duty of Local Education Authorities to give special attention to the physical development of the children in their charge and to provide curative treatment for their ailments. Nursery schools for children from 2 to 5 years of age should be established. The number of open-air schools for delicate children should be increased. When necessary, Local Authorities should make full use of the powers conferred upon them by the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906.
227. (iv.) A larger place should be given in all schools to practical work. Abundant opportunities for recreation, organised games, and play centres should be provided in all schools, and children should be encouraged to participate in maintaining the discipline and good order of school life. In fact, the corporate life of schools should be strengthened in every way possible.
228. (v.) While the opportunities for the higher education of specially capable children should be largely increased, the main effort of the community must be directed so to organising its educational system as to raise the moral and intellectual level of the whole population.
229. (vi.) The present public expenditure upon education is unworthy both of its object and of the nation. The proportion of the national income devoted to education ought to be largely and progressively increased.
230. (vii.) The status of teachers in elementary and secondary schools should be raised; their salaries should be commensurate with their needs and the importance of their service to the State; and they should be encouraged to obtain their professional training at a University or University College.
231. (viii.) The maximum number of children per class in the elementary schools should be reduced to 40, and ultimately to 30.
232. (ix.) All exemptions from full-time attendance at school below the age of 14 should be abolished. Full-time attendance at school should in time be made compulsory up to the age of 15, and ultimately up to the age of 16. The wages of adults should be raised sufficiently to make it unnecessary for the income of the family to be supplemented by the labour of children below that age. In the meantime adequate maintenance allowances should be paid to those parents who would otherwise be unable to dispense with the earnings of their children.
233. (x.) The employment for purposes of gain of children who are under a legal obligation to attend school full time should be prohibited.
234. (xi.) A system of compulsory continued education should

be established, the aim of which should be that all young persons between the age at which full-time attendance at school ceases and that of 18, unless engaged in occupations in themselves directly educational, should ultimately attend school for 24 hours out of a working week of not more than 48 hours (factory and school combined), or for a corresponding proportion of the month or the year.

235. (xii.) The primary object of such continued education should be to develop the physical and mental capacities of the children, and to strengthen their character by continuous contact with the corporate life of a school. It should be given a vocational bias only in the later years of school attendance.
236. (xiii.) Rural education should be adapted to the needs of country children, but should not sacrifice the needs of a liberal culture to specialised training in rural life. The curriculum and methods should be so arranged as to make use of the opportunities for educational stimulus abundantly offered by rural life, and to imbue children with a sympathetic understanding of nature, and of the history and present problems of the district in which they live.
237. (xiv.) There is a wide and increasing demand for education of a non-vocational character among adult men and women. Such education should form part of the normal educational provision of the community, and should be encouraged in every way possible. In particular, the financial difficulties which impede it should be removed by the payment of grants to bodies of adult students who give guarantees of pursuing serious and continuous courses of education and who are open to inspection.
238. (xv.) There is a growing desire for religious education among adults. This desire should be met by the establishment, under expert guidance, of classes for the study of religion, the object of which would be both to stimulate thought upon religious questions, and to enable men to pursue studies preparatory to entering the ministry while working at their ordinary occupations. It is eminently desirable that a larger number of ministers should be drawn from the ranks of adult working people, and the establishment of such classes is one method by which the achievement of this result can be facilitated.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION

239. **W**E have been considering the bearing of Christianity on the social and economic departments of life which especially concern those who are engaged in industry or in solving its problems ; in other words, the great bulk of the community.

240. We repudiated at the outset the idea that Christ, and the religion of Christ, have no voice upon these questions.

241. We desire, in ending, with all emphasis to affirm the opposite. The religion which bears the name of Jesus Christ is based upon a " word " or message. He brought it. It was embodied in what He was and did. It expresses what He is. The effect of it was to make men know the truth about God and about themselves, as they had never done before, and have not done since apart from Him. Men were taught to know God as having a purpose of good for themselves and for the world, and as being their Father. They became sure that " God is love." Accordingly the whole life of man, his functions, his value, and his destiny were seen in a new light.

In that light each life, great and small, has dignity ; and all that concerns human progress and welfare is felt to be of value and meaning in the sight both of God and man. The revelation of an eternal destiny for man, far from diminishing the importance of social righteousness in this world, does, in fact, only enhance it. The New Testament implies the moral and social teaching which was given so constantly and courageously by the Prophets, and carries it to completion in the principle of love. Moreover, the religion inspired by that principle at once took form, as had been directed, in a society or brotherhood of equal privileges, mutual service, and the highest *esprit de corps*. The centre and nucleus of all this was the Figure of Jesus Christ, believed in as " Son of Man " and as " Son of God," Who lived a life of unreserved devotion to human welfare and of perfect service, and Who gave His life, during its course and at its awful end, to " the supreme sacrifice " for mankind, and to conflict with the evils which spoil and ruin our life. His Spirit, as His followers have always declared, was the source and strength of all their common life. The highest act of their religion was a social one : a feast of the community in which the unseen Master fed them and bound them into one with His own life.

242. We may say quite plainly that such a religion was uniquely fitted to supply all human life, and not least its social forms,

with deepest principles, and with driving power, and with the strongest safeguards against the dangers that threaten them from human weakness and fault.

243. "But," will be the ironical repartee, "why has not this been discovered sooner? Why have the forces, labelled Christian, seemed so often to lack constructive and redemptive social power? Why have Christians and Christian leaders been so often associated with resistance to movements of social progress and reform? Why should things which in the light of Christianity should always have been clear have waited to be discovered till democracy was coming into its own by its own force?"
244. To discuss this fairly and fully would carry us quite beyond the limits of this Report. Nor would it serve our present purpose, which is not that of vindicating the Church but of witnessing to its Master and Lord. If Christians have often been unworthy trustees of the good news of Jesus, the behaviour of careless or defaulting trustees does not affect the value of their trust. The famous saying of the revolutionary heroine, "O Liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name!" may remind us that the noblest things of human life may be condemned if tried by the practice of some of the people, or generations, or classes, who have carried their banners.
245. What we ask on behalf of Christian principles is that they may be judged by the example of Christ Himself and, in due degree, of the best Christians. The main point for us all, whether Christians or not, to consider is not what has been, but what ought to have been, and what ought to be. The self-renewing power of Christian life is one of its plainest marks. We believe that in a "day of fire," like the present, much that has been wrong and worldly in the past will be burnt away, and that in a coming time of more equal rights and better distributed power and possessions the Christian Gospel and the Christian Church may be found to be among the strongest forces making for a sound and wholesome progress.
246. On the part of the Church a serious and widespread effort is being made to search out and acknowledge its own faults and failures. And for doing this there can be no stronger motive than the desire to do the service to our country in the coming days which can only be done in the name of Jesus Christ. For the democratic movement, just as those movements which preceded it, will not be without its dangers, and the minds of its best and wisest men will not be blind to these. They are immense. An ordered liberty cannot maintain itself without self-discipline, selfless patriotism, mutual confidence and brotherliness of spirit, a readiness to serve and suffer for the general good, and to trust and follow chosen leaders with loyalty and self-suppression. For all this it will need the

strong stuff of deep and sterling character. But it is just to produce these qualities that the Church, if it knows its own business, exists. The man who has Christ's example before his eyes, to whom Christ's Cross is the symbol of self-devotion, of discipline, of public spirit, of moral fearlessness and courage, is the man to make the true citizen of a free state. The man for whom Christ is the sure guarantee of moral and spiritual values will be armed as none other can be against all the practical materialism which is the vast and encroaching peril of complex civilisations. Christian faith in life beyond death may have led sometimes to a narrow other-worldliness: its real effect is to intensify the value of all human things. Christian stress on personal salvation may have had here and there an anti-social effect: reflection upon the Lord's own principle that he who would save his life must lose it will show that its true meaning is intensely social.

247. We would therefore close our Report by an appeal to all whom it may concern for a close alliance and mutual regard between those who are working for the best organisation of industry and the Church of the world's Redeemer.

248. The conclusions which we have reached are to our minds the direct implications of the Creed of the Church. The call which is sounding in this day of world-judgment is that we should not only hold the Faith, but re-order our life, social as well as personal, in accordance with its principles. This we know to be the true mission of the Church. This we are persuaded is the true interest of the community. We present our Report in hope, with the prayer that it may prove helpful to those who, like ourselves, are anxious in this moment of opportunity to hear "what the Spirit saith unto the churches."

(Signed)	EDW. WINTON (<i>Chairman</i>).	HENRY E. KEMP.
	HENRY BARRAN.	GEORGE LANSBURY.
	G. K. A. BELL.	J. A. LICHFIELD.
	HENRY BENTINCK.	NEVILLE LOVETT.
	S. BOSTOCK.	ALBERT MANSBRIDGE.
	W. C. BRIDGEMAN.	W. FOXLEY NORRIS.
	IRENE COX.	C. OXON.
	M. J. R. DUNSTAN.	THEODORE PETRIBURG.
	W. A. DURNFORD.	ARTHUR L. SMITH.
	F. W. GILBERTSON.	CONSTANCE SMITH.
	GEORGE HESKETH.	R. H. TAWNEY.
	W. L. HICHENS.	CHRISTOPHER TURNOR.
	FRED. HUGHES.	JAMES B. SEATON,
	R. R. HYDE.	<i>Hon. Secretary.</i>

10th August, 1918.

APPENDIX *

LABOUR AND THE MINISTRY

A communication from the Rev. Canon Garbett, Vicar of Portsea, in a letter dated 9th May, 1917 :—

“ I hope very much that your Committee on the Church and Industry will consider the failure to enable the sons of the working class to enter the ministry as one of the causes of the alienation between the Church and Labour.

“ As one who has worked for many years in a great labouring parish, I am increasingly convinced that this is one of the fundamental causes of our failure in this matter. I am not sure if I should not place it first. Hardly any of the clergy are drawn from the working class, and of the small minority who come from it some were taken for their training at the age of seventeen and have very largely lost touch with their class.

“ We have really a class ministry, and from this there follow three results :

“ 1. First, we clergy, with our public schools and universities behind us, look at political and social questions from a different angle from that of the vast mass of the working class. Instinctively, and often quite unconsciously, our past training and education make us critical of, or indifferent to, the social problems. We cannot feel about them so deeply as the working class. The matters of issue in trades disputes are often unintelligible to us, while to the working class they are of vital importance. Words like ‘ hunger ’ and ‘ unemployment ’ connote to us something very different from what they do to the men who have actually experienced want. And I believe that the reason why the Church has so often been indifferent to social reform—and, more than that, has so often been found on the wrong side—is that we clergy, through our previous training, lack the imagination to see all that it means for those who are suffering under social injustice. Men who have been brought up in the hard school of manual labour and poverty would instinctively sympathise with their class in this matter, as we, as a whole instinctively sympathise in our hearts with the employers.

“ 2. Secondly, it is difficult for the majority of the clergy to get to know the men of the working classes really as a friend. I believe a great deal can be done by evening visiting, and personally I would advocate the abandonment of a great deal of other work if by so doing time could be found for the clergy

* See p. 132.

to visit the men in their homes regularly in the evening. This, I believe, would break down a great deal of misunderstanding. Where it has been tried I know that it does. But the social barriers are very real. The men on my staff of clergy who have come to know the working class best feel most strongly the difficulty which this barrier causes. It is the unimaginative man who treats the social prejudice as non-existent. It is very real, and takes years to get over.

"3. Thirdly, the working classes themselves feel that it is unjust that if their sons have a call to ordination they should be debarred simply on the grounds of financial disabilities. I remember hearing a working lad of eighteen, at a debate on the failure of the Church, say: 'If we want to be ordained we are not allowed to remain in England, but have to be sent out to the missionary field.' And that, of course, is very largely true. I find it far easier to arrange for working class candidates to have a training in the mission colleges for mission work, than to be ordained for work in England. This causes real resentment, and encourages the idea that the Church of England has a class ministry.

"May I refer quite briefly to three objections which I know will be raised?

"1. That the working men themselves dislike having as a clergyman a member of their own class. I think that at present this is perfectly true, for the working-class members of the Church are very conservative; but then they are not representative of their whole class, which increasingly manages its own affairs, its Trades Unions, Friendly Societies, etc. It is true that a number of so-called working-class ordinands have not been very successful, but usually they have been drawn from the lower middle class, and have been self-conscious of their dignity and of themselves.

"2. Secondly, it may be said that this will lower the intellectual standard. It will, of course, mean a change in some of the subjects taken at the examination for ordination, but I feel certain that there need not be any reduction of the intellectual standard. For instance, large numbers of the lads who pass through our Dockyard schools here are intellectually stronger than the deacon who has got his degree in the pass schools at one of the universities.

"3. Thirdly, it will be said: 'Where will you place these men?' That, at first, will be a difficulty, but it is a difficulty which ought to remedy itself within a few years, for these men will increasingly get into touch with those we have failed to reach, and bring into the Church many who so far have been indifferent to its message.

"I am not in the least advocating that the working class should have a set of clergy specially appointed to minister to

them and them alone ; still less am I thinking of clergy who should be labour leaders rather than spiritual guides : but I am urging most strongly the importance of removing the difficulties which stand in the way of a working-class ministry, for I believe that this would mean the removal of much of the suspicion with which the industrial classes regard the Church, and would result in the infusion of a new and strengthening element into the ministry of the Church."

A SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY

All prices quoted are net, but are subject to constant revision.

CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES AND THEIR SOCIAL APPLICATION

- Barnett, Canon S. A., and Mrs., *Practicable Socialism*. 1915. Longmans. 6s.
- Towards Social Reform*. 1909. Unwin. 5s.
- Bartlett, J. Vernon, and Carlyle, A. J., *Christianity in History*. 1917. Macmillan. 12s. 6d.
- Binyon, G. C., *The Kingdom of Righteousness*. Baylis, Evesham. 3s. 6d.
- Bussell, F. W., *Christian Theology and Social Progress*. 1907. Methuen. 10s. 6d.
- Campbell, Rev. R. J., *Christianity and the Social Order*. 1908. Chapman & Hall. 6s.
- Carlyle, Dr. A. J., *The Influence of Christianity upon Social and Political Ideas*. 1912. Mowbray. 1s. 6d.
- Chesterton, G. K., *What's Wrong with the World?* 1910. Cassell. 1s.
- Chadwick, Rev. Dr. W. E., *Christian Citizenship*. 1911. Mowbray. 2s.
- The Social Principles of the Gospel*. 1909. S.P.C.K. 1s. 6d.
- Social Relationships in the Light of Christianity*. 1910. Longmans. 5s.
- Figgis, Dr. J. Neville, *Churches in the Modern State*. 1914. Longmans. 4s. 6d.
- Civilisation at the Cross Roads*. 1912. Longmans. 5s.
- Gore, Charles, Bishop, *The Sermon on the Mount*. 1896. Murray. 1s. 6d. and 6d.
- Harnack, Adolf, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*. 2 vols. Williams and Norgate. 25s.
- Haw, George (Ed.), *Christianity and the Working Classes*. 1906. Macmillan. 3s. 6d.
- Hobhouse, Walter, *The Church and the World in Idea and in History*. 1910. Macmillan. 10s.
- Houlder, H. F., *Christian Discipleship and Social Life*. Student Christian Movement. 6d.
- Jones, Prof. H., *The Working Faith of a Social Reformer, and Other Essays* (including *Social Responsibilities*). 1910. Macmillan. 7s. 6d.
- Lambeth Conference, 1908 : *Encyclical and Resolutions*. S.P.C.K. 1s.
- Lansbury, George, *Your Part in Poverty*. 1917. "The Herald." 1s.
- Marson, Charles L., *God's Co-operative Society*. 1914. Longmans. 2s. 6d.
- Maurice, F. D., *The Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven*. 1893. Macmillan. 3s. 6d.
- Millin, G. F., *Commerce and Christianity*. 1902. Allen (Sonnen-schein). 1s.

142 CHRISTIANITY AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

- Moral Witness of the Church on Economic Subjects: First and Second Reports of Joint Committee of Convocation.* S.P.C.K. 2d. each.
- Pan-Anglican Congress, 1908. Report, vol. 2: The Church and Human Society.* S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.
- Peabody, Prof. F. G., *Jesus Christ and the Social Question.* 1907. Macmillan. 6d.
- Peile, Rev. J. H. F., *The Reproach of the Gospel.* 1907. Longmans. 5s. 6d.
- Ponsonby, Arthur, *The Camel and the Needle's Eye.* 1909. Fifield. 3s. 6d.
- Property: Its Duties and Rights.* With Introduction by Charles Gore, Bishop of Oxford. 1915. Macmillan. 5s.
- Rauschenbusch, Prof. W., *Christianising the Social Order.* 1916. Macmillan. 6s. 6d.
- Christianity and the Social Crisis.* 1907. Macmillan. 2s.
- Royce, Prof. J., *The Problem of Christianity.* 2 vols. 1913. Macmillan. 18s.
- Ruskin, John, *Unto this Last.* Allen. 1s. 6d.
- Seeley, J. R., *Ecce Homo: A Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ.* Macmillan. 1s. 6d.
- Spencer, Malcolm, *The Hope of the Redemption of Society.* 1913. Student Christian Movement. 1s.
- Westcott, B. F., Bishop, *Social Aspects of Christianity.* 1887. Macmillan. 6s.
- The Incarnation and Common Life.* Macmillan. 6s.
- Christian Social Union Addresses.* Macmillan. 1s.
- Christian Social Union Publications. Mowbray. See especially:
- P. Dearmer, *Social Teaching of the Catechism.* 1d.
- W. N. Williams, *Social Theory and Christian Practice.* 1d.
- H. S. Holland, *Moral Right of the State to Control Capital.* 1d.
- Christianity and War.* 1d.
- C. Gore, *Christianity and Socialism.* 1d.
- A. L. Smith, *The War and Our Social Duty.* 1d.
- Publications of various Denominational Social Service Unions (to be obtained through the Secretary, Interdenominational Conference of Social Service Unions, 92, St. George's Square, S.W.).

THE HISTORICAL ASPECT

- Ashley, W. J., *The Economic Organisation of England,* 1914. Longmans, Green & Co. 2s. 6d.
- Introduction to English Economic History and Theory.* 2 vols. Longmans. 15s. 6d.
- Bartlett, J. V., and Carlyle, A. J., *Christianity in History.* 1917. Macmillan. 12s. 6d.
- Beer, M., *A History of British Socialism.* Bell. (In preparation.)
- Bland, A. E., Brown, P. A., and Tawney, R. H. (Ed.), *English Economic History: Select Documents.* Bell. 7s. 6d.
- Brants, Victor, *Les Théories Economiques Aux XIII.^e et XIV.^e Siècles.* Louvain:
- Bussell, F. W., *Christian Theology and Social Progress.* 1907. Methuen. 10s. 6d.

- Carlyle, Dr. A. J., *The Influence of Christianity upon Social and Political Ideas*. 1912. Mowbray. 1s. 6d.
- Carlyle, R. W. and A. J., *History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West*. 3 vols. 1903-1909. Blackwood. 40s. 6d.
- Coulton, G. G. (Ed.), *A Mediæval Garner*. 1910. Constable. 21s.
- Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation*. 1918. Cambridge University Press. 15s.
- Cunningham, William, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*. 3 vols. 1912. Cambridge University Press. 30s.
- Christianity and Politics*. 1916. Murray. 6s.
- Figgis, Rev. J. Neville, *Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius*. 1907. Cambridge University Press. 3s. 6d.
- Gierke, O., *Political Theories of the Middle Ages*. 1900. Cambridge University Press. 10s.
- Green, Mrs. J. R., *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*. 1894. 2 vols. Macmillan. 20s.
- Hammond, J. L. and Barbara, *The Town Labourer, 1760-1832*. 1917. Longmans. 10s. 6d.
- The Village Labourer, 1760-1832*. 1913. Longmans. 10s. 6d.
- Harnack, Adolf, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*. 2 vols. 1908. Williams & N. 25s.
- Hatch, Rev. Edwin, *The Organisation of the Early Christian Churches*. 1881. Longmans. 5s.
- Headlam, A. C., *The Revenues of the Church of England*. 1917. Murray. 2s. 6d.
- Hobhouse, Walter, *The Church and the World in Idea and in History*. 1910. Macmillan. 10s.
- Hodder, E., *Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury (1801-1885)*. 1892. Cassell. 3s. 6d.
- Jarrett, Bede, *Mediæval Socialism*. 1913. Jack. 6d.
- St. Antonino and Mediæval Economics*. 1914. Herder. 1s.
- Lambeth Conference, 1908: *Encyclical and Resolutions*. S.P.C.K. 1s.
- Latimer, Hugh, Bishop, *Sermons*. Dent. 1s. 6d.
- Leonard, E. M., *The Early History of English Poor Relief*. 1900. Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d.
- Levy, Hermann, *Economic Liberalism*. 1913. Macmillan. 4s. 6d.
- Marx, Karl, *Capital* 1904 ed. Swan Sonnenschein. (Out of print.)
- Marx, Karl, *The Communist Manifesto*. 2d.
- Masterman, C. F. G., *Life of Frederick Denison Maurice*. 1907. Mowbray. 3s. 6d.
- Moral Witness of the Church on Economic Subjects*. First and Second Reports of Joint Committee of Convocation. S.P.C.K. 2d. each.
- Nitti, F. S., *Catholic Socialism*. Tr. M. Mackintosh. 1895. Allen. 10s. 6d.
- Noel, Rev. Conrad, *Socialism in Church History*. Church Publishing Co., Thaxted, Essex. 2s. 10d.
- Pan-Anglican Congress, 1908*. Report, vol. 2: *The Church and Human Society*. S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.
- Property: Its Duties and Rights, Historically, Philosophically, and Religiously Regarded*. By Various Writers. With Introduction by Charles Gore, Bishop of Oxford. 1915. Macmillan. 5s.

144 CHRISTIANITY AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

- Ryan, J. A., *A Living Wage : Its Ethical and Economic Aspects*. Macmillan. 2s.
 Smith, Goldwin, *Does the Bible Sanction American Slavery?* 1863. Parker. (Out of Print.)
 Tawney, R. H., *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*. 1912. Longmans. 9s.
 Toynbee, Arnold, *The Industrial Revolution*. 1908. Longmans. 3s.
 Troeltsch, Ernst, *Die Soziallehren der Christlichen Kirchen*, 1911. Tübingen.

TOWN LIFE AND INDUSTRY

(a) GENERAL SURVEYS AND STUDIES OF THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

- Bell, Lady, *At the Works : A Study of a Manufacturing Town*. 1911. Nelson. 1s. 6d.
 Booth, Charles, *Life and Labour of the People in London*. 17 vols. 1902. Macmillan. 5s. per vol.
 Bowley, A. L., and Burnett-Hurst, A. R., *Livelihood and Poverty*. 1915. Bell. 3s. 6d.
 Hawkins, C. B., *Norwich : A Social Study*. 1910. Warner. 5s.
 Howarth, E. G., and Wilson, Mona (Ed.), *West Ham : A Study in Social and Industrial Problems*. 1907. Dent. 6s.
 Money, L. G. Chiozza, *Riches and Poverty*. 1913. Methuen. 1s.
 Paterson, Alexander, *Across the Bridges : or, Life by the South London Riverside*. 1912. Arnold. 1s.
 Reeves, Mrs. Pember, *Round About a Pound a Week*. 1913. Bell. 2s. 6d.
 Rowntree, B. Seeböhm, *Poverty : A Study of Town Life*. 1906. Macmillan. 1s. 6d.
 Tressall, Robert, *Ragged Trousered Philanthropists*. 1914. Richards. 2s. 6d.
 Williams, Alfred, *Life in a Railway Factory*. 1915. Duckworth. 5s.

Board of Trade, *Report on Earnings and Hours of Labour in the United Kingdom in 1909-1910*. 5 Parts. H.M. Stationery Office. 9s.

(b) LABOUR MOVEMENT, TRADE UNIONISM, CO-OPERATION, LABOUR LEGISLATION

- Cadbury, Edward, *Experiments in Industrial Organisation*. 1912. Longmans. 5s.
 Cole, G. D. H., *Self-Government in Industry*. 1917. Bell. 4s. 6d.
The World of Labour. 1917. Bell. 2s. 8d.
 Fay, C. R., *Co-Operation at Home and Abroad*. 1908. P. S. King. 10s. 6d.
 Goldmark, J., *Fatigue and Efficiency*. 1913. New York : Russell Sage Foundation. 10s.
 Henderson, Arthur, *The Aims of Labour*. 1917. Headley Bros. 1s.
 Hobhouse, L. T., *The Labour Movement*. 1905. Unwins.

- Hobson, J. A., *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*. 1906. W. Scott. 6s.
- The Industrial System : An Inquiry into Earned and Unearned Income*. 1910. Longmans. 7s. 6d.
- Hobson, S. G., *National Guilds : An Enquiry into the Wage System and the Way Out*. 1918. Bell. 5s.
- Hutchins, B. L., *Women in Modern Industry*. 1915. Bell. 4s. 6d.
- Hutchins, B. L., and Harrison, A., *History of Factory Legislation*. 1911. P. S. King. 6s.
- Kirkup, Thomas, *History of Socialism*. Ed. E. R. Pease. 1913. Black. 5s.
- Labour Year Book*, 1916. Labour Party Offices. 1s. 6d.
- Lloyd, C. M., *Trade Unionism*. 1915. Black. 2s. 6d.
- Macdonald, J. Ramsay, *Socialism and Government*. 2 vols. 1909. National Labour Press. 3s.
- Socialism and Society*. 1906. National Labour Press. 1s. 6d.
- Macgregor, D. H. *Evolution of Industry*. 1911. Williams and N. 1s. 6d.
- Madams, J. P., *The Story Re-Told : An Intermediate Text-Book on Co-Operation*. 1917. Co-Operative Union. 6d.
- People's Year Book*, 1918. (Co-Operative Annual.) C.W.S. 1s.
- Potter, Beatrice (Mrs. Sidney Webb), *The Co-Operative Movement in Great Britain*. 1899. Allen.. 2s. 6d.
- Schloss, D. F., *Methods of Industrial Remuneration*. 1907. Williams and Norgate. 3s. 6d.
- Schloesser, Henry H., and Clark, W. Smith, *The Legal Position of Trade Unions*, 1912. P. S. King. 10s. 6d.
- Webb, Catherine (Ed.), *Industrial Co-Operation*. 1912. Co-Operative Union. 5s.
- Webb, Mrs. Sidney, *The Case for the Factory Acts*. 1902. Richards. 1s.
- Webb, Sidney and Beatrice, *History of Trade Unionism*. 1911. Longmans. 7s. 6d.
- Industrial Democracy*. 1902. Longmans. 12s.
- Problems of Modern Industry*. 1898. Longmans. 5s.

(c) UNEMPLOYMENT

- Beveridge, W. H., *Unemployment : A Problem of Industry*. 1912. Longmans. 9s.
- Hobson, J. A., *The Problem of the Unemployed*. 1896. (Out of Print.)
- Mess, H. A., *Casual Labour at the Docks*. 1916. Bell. 2s.
- Rathbone, Eleanor, *Report of an Enquiry into the Condition of Labour at the Liverpool Docks*. 1904. Northern Publishing Co.
- Williams, R., *The First Year's Working of the Liverpool Dock Scheme*. 1914. P. S. King. 2s. 6d.

Royal Commission on Poor Laws and Relief of Distress, 1909. Majority and Minority Reports. H.M. Stationery Office.

(d) JUVENILE LABOUR

- Bray, Reginald, *Boy Labour and Apprenticeship*. 1911. Constable. 8s.
- Dearle, N. B., *Industrial Training*. 1914. P. S. King. 10s. 6d.

146 CHRISTIANITY AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

- Dunlop, O. J., and Denman, R. D., *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour: A History*. 1912. Unwin. 10s. 6d.
 Freeman, Arnold, *Boy Life and Labour*. 1914. P. S. King. 3s. 6d.
 Gibb, Spencer J., *The Problem of Boy Work*. 1906. Wells Gardner. 1s. 6d.
 Keeling, Frederic, *Child Labour in the United Kingdom*. 1914. P. S. King. 7s. 6d.
 Paton, G. M., *The Child and the Nation*. 1915. Student Christian Movement. 1s.

-
- Report of Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance*. 1909. H.M. Stationery Office. 2s. 8d.
Report of Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on the Attendance, Compulsory or Otherwise, at Continuation Schools. 1909. H.M. Stationery Office. 3s.
Royal Commission on Poor Laws, 1909. Majority and Minority Reports. H.M. Stationery Office.
Royal Commission on Poor Laws, 1909. Minutes of Evidence, Vol. 20, *Report on Boy Labour*, by Cyril Jackson. H.M. Stationery Office.
Report of Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment After the War. 1917. H.M. Stationery Office.

(e) HEALTH AND HOUSING

- Alden, P., and Hayward, E. E., *Housing*. 1907. Headley. 1s.
 Dewsnap, E. R., *The Housing Problem in England*. 1907. Sherratt and H. 5s.
 Hutchins, B. L., *Public Health Agitation*. 1909. Fifield. 2s. 6d.
 Marr, T. R., *Housing Conditions in Manchester and Salford*. 1904. Sherratt and H. 1s.
 Newman, Sir George, *Health of the State*. 1907. Headley. 1s.
Infant Mortality. 1906. Methuen. 7s. 6d.
 Thompson, W., *Housing Handbook*. 1903. P. S. King. 6s.

EDUCATION

- Balfour, Graham, *Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland*. 1903. Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d.
 Dewey, John, *Democracy and Education*. 1916. Macmillan. 6s.
 Jackson, Cyril, *Outlines of Education in England*. 1913. Mowbray. 1s. 6d.
 Holmes, Edmond, *What is and What Might Be*. 1917. Constable. 2s. 6d.
In Defence of What Might Be. Constable. 5s.
 Keatinge, M. W., *Studies in Education*. 1916. Black. 5s.
 Lyttelton, Hon. Edward, *The Corner Stone of Education: An Essay on the Home Training of Children*. 1914. Putnam. 5s.
 McMillan, Margaret, *Labour and Childhood*. 1907. Allen. 3s. 6d.
The Child and the State, 1911. National Labour Press. 1s.
 Mansbridge, Albert, *University Tutorial Classes: A Study in the Development of the Higher Education of Working Men and Women*. 1913. Longmans. 2s. 6d.
 Morgan, Alexander, *Education and Social Progress*. 1916. Longmans. 3s. 6d.

- Oxford and Working Class Education: A Report of a Joint Committee of University and Working Class Representatives on the Relation of the University to the Higher Education of Working People.* 1909. Clarendon Press. (Out of Print.)
- Sadler, M. E. (Ed.), *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere.* 1908. Manchester University Press. 8s. 6d.
-

- Report of Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance.* 1909. H.M. Stationery Office. 2s. 8d.
- Report of Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on the Attendance, Compulsory or Otherwise, at Continuation Schools.* 1909. H.M. Stationery Office. 3s.
- Royal Commission on Poor Laws. 1909. Majority and Minority Reports.* H.M. Stationery Office.
- Royal Commission on Poor Laws. 1909. Minutes of Evidence, Vol. 20: Report on Boy Labour, by Cyril Jackson.* H.M. Stationery Office.
- Report of Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment After the War.* 1917. H.M. Stationery Office.

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW

AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS
WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN
THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY
WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH
DAY AND TO \$1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY
OVERDUE.

NOV 17 1962

L8 Jun '62 LZ

REC'D LD

JUL 31 1962

JUN 31 1978
IN STACKS

JUN 1 1978

JUL 1 1978

REC'D

JUN 10 1978

LD 21-50m-8,32

XC165774

HN31

C52

452307

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

